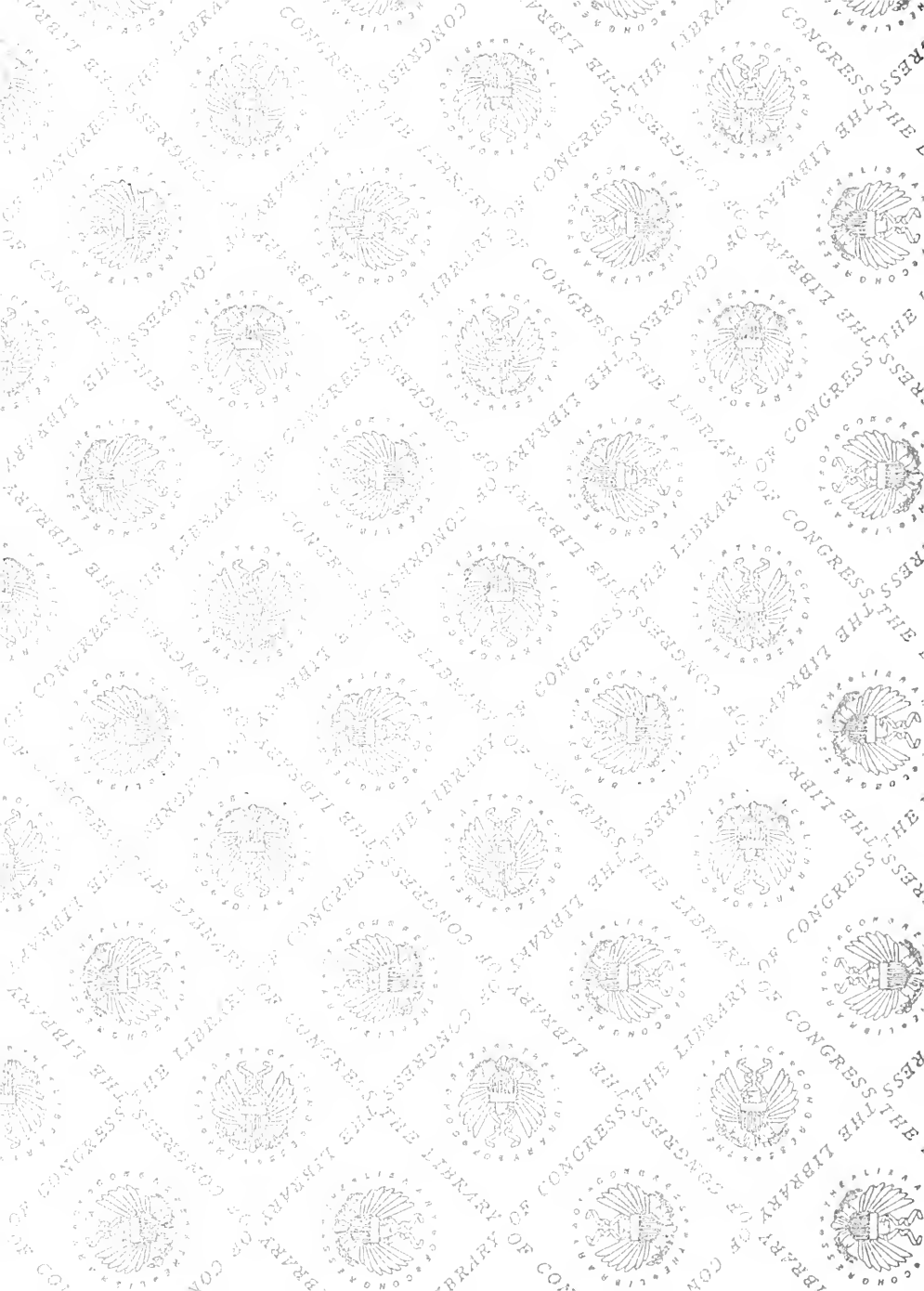


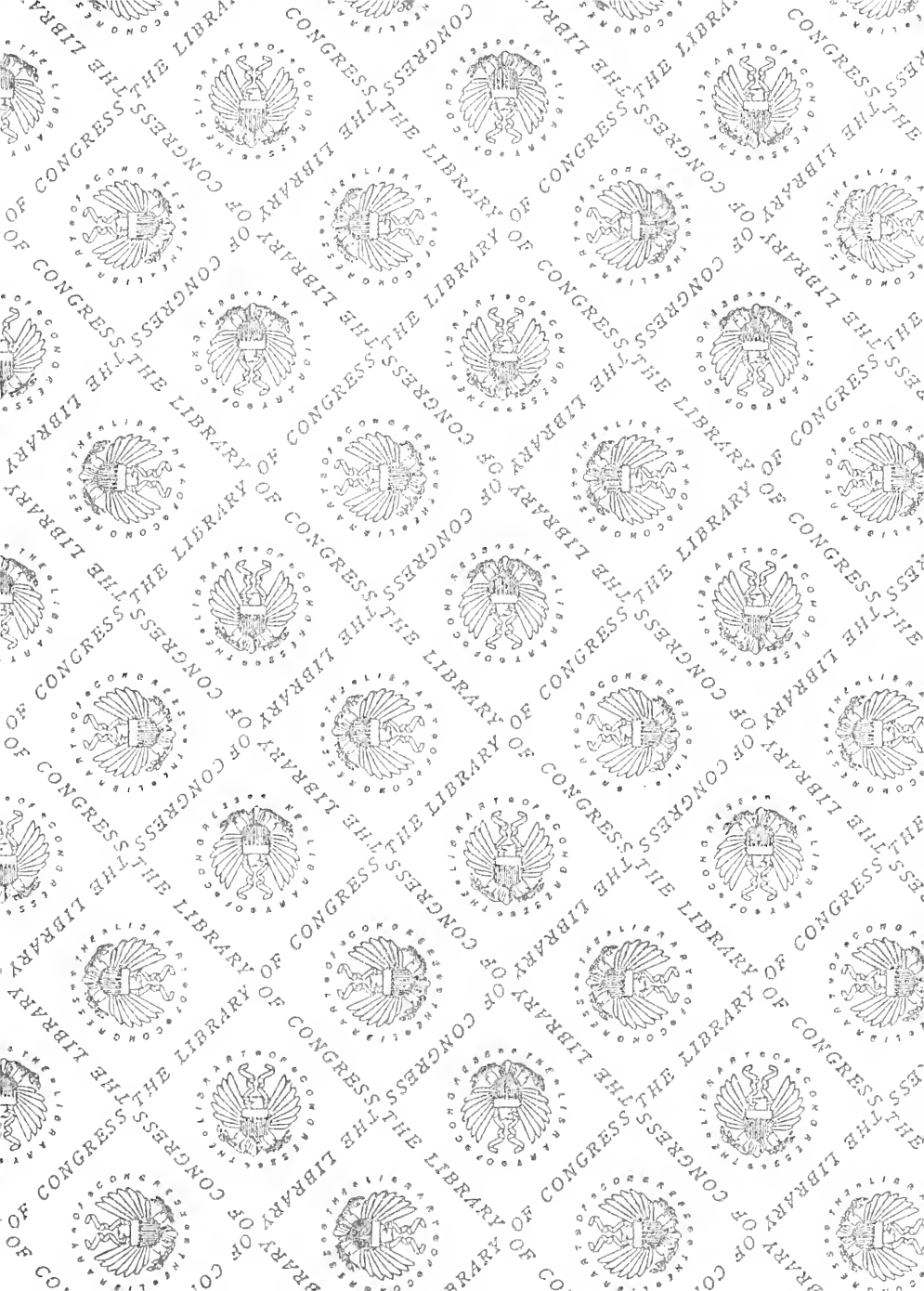
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**THE RISE
AND
VICISSITUDES
OF THE
UNITED STATES**

**WITH PORTRAITS
OF
FORTY AMERICAN
STATESMEN**





A Brief Dissertation
ON
THE RISE AND VICISSITUDES OF THE UNITED STATES

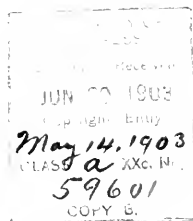
WITH
Portraits of Forty American Statesmen,

WHOSE LIVES ILLUME
Four Epochs of American History,

NAMELY :
1761 to 1789 : 1789 to 1824 : 1824 to 1861 : 1861 to 1901.

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BY  
JAS. A. MCCORMICK,  
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

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MAILED 1903  
JUN 20 1903





ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



THIS little book, together with the four pictures of "AMERICAN STATESMEN," which it is intended to elucidate, are dedicated to the Hon. Theodore E. Hancock, of Syracuse, N. Y., formerly Attorney General of the State of New York, who, among the friends I have, "and their adoption tried," is the best.—J. A. McC.

## INTRODUCTION.

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**I**N a survey of history it is difficult to find a parallel or precedent for the Rise and Progress of the United States of America. According to legend Rome was founded by descendants of Æneas who, fleeing from Grecian rapine and the destruction of Troy, established themselves upon the rock-ribbed hills along the Tiber's banks. Within the walls erected by Romulus and Remus the victims of oppression and tyranny were welcomed, protected and invested with citizenship. Their power increased with numbers, and in course of time their legions were sent to less progressive nations to instruct them in their arts and sciences, their literature and laws. The history of the civilized world for quite two centuries is the natural and logical amplification of the characteristics of those Trojan exiles. So, in a measure, it may be said the United States had its beginning. A band of refugees from Europe, seeking that freedom of religious thought and word which was denied them in their native country, settled in the wilderness of an unknown land, inhabited by savage beasts and still more savage men. They brought with them a social compact of democratic government, which was mutually agreed to and subscribed in the cabin of the Mayflower, while she was rocking upon the bosom of the Atlantic, along New England's shore. The settlement thus fixed was fraught with weal or woe to all mankind. The principles of government then and there established have been preserved and propagated by countless offshoots of the storied pilgrim stock, and as well by those whom they beacons and welcomed hither from beneath the rule and tyranny of old world kings and privileged classes. Here the alien stranger was invited, welcomed, and invested with a robe of citizenship, compared with which that conferred by Rome, in its most glorious days, is insignificant and trivial.

It is not necessary to the purposes here in hand to do more than merely allude to the history of the thirteen colonies from their settlement down to the time when the so-called mother country, through its King and Parliament, attempted to extend and exercise an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them. But it is assumed that from that time — say 1761 — a few words may not be out of place, with regard to the rise and vicissitudes of the United States, and the statesmen who made its history.

## The Rise and Vicissitudes of the United States.

"A nation is to be congratulated when it has many illustrious men in its history, to whom the people may look back with reverential love. Happy the people possessing among their dead a Washington and a Lincoln! Each such name helps to hold the passing generations with all their new problems and revolutionary impulses, in allegiance to the ideals of the past. One must believe that Westminster Abbey is a perpetual incentive to true patriotism; that beneath the constant influence of its noble monuments demagogues could not flourish. As one walks beneath those arches and reads the records of heroes who have died in various climes for England and mankind, of the statesmen and authors who have for so many centuries been making the English language and ideas the most precious literary heritage of the world, one gets a profound impression of the solidity of English institutions, a firm confidence that widespread, deeply penetrating roots will keep the English oak green for centuries to come."—FRANKLIN CARTER.

The struggle of the people of the colonies for INDEPENDENCE may be said to have commenced in 1761, when James Otis resigned the highly honorable and lucrative office of advocate for the crown in the Colony of Massachusetts, in order to be untrammelled in defending the people against the Act of the British Parliament, by which sheriffs and other officials of administration, armed with so-called WRITS OF ASSISTANCE, were authorized to forcibly enter and ransack private residences and stores for goods, on the mere suspicion that duties—taxes—had not been paid thereon. This cause came on to be heard, upon the petition of a number of merchants, at Boston, in February, 1761. No verbatim report of the argument made by Otis has come down to us, but John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, was present on that occasion and has left on record his impressions of the same and his predictions of the effect of that argument upon the future of the colonies. He says: "Otis was a flame of fire; with a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was then and there born. The seeds of patriots and heroes, to defend the *Non sine diis animosus infans*,—to defend

the vigorous growth, were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against WRITS OF ASSISTANCE. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. *Then and there the child, Independence, was born.* In fifteen years, i. e. in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free."

From the year in which James Otis made this justly celebrated historical argument to that in which William McKinley, President, gave his life in martyrdom, is a period of one hundred and forty years. During that time what marvelous changes—economical, social, industrial and international—have taken place within the territory which now constitutes the Union? Volumes would be required in which to unfold the story in any adequate manner. Let a brief outline suffice. The national domain, as defined in the treaty of peace with England in 1783, has been increased fourfold, by honorable purchase and peaceable annexation of contiguous territory; while, by the same means, we have acquired extensive possessions in the Arctic circle, and in either ocean that washes our shores, so that the sun illumines the radiance and power of the national flag during every hour of the day. From three millions of people, sparsely scattered along the Atlantic coast in 1776, we have grown to more than seventy-five millions. A purely agricultural people in 1776, are become in 1901 the greatest manufacturing nation on earth. Our natural resources—raw materials, the basis of every industry—are unlimited. Our railroads connect the great lakes on the north with the great gulf on the south, and bind the Atlantic to the Pacific, giving employment and support to millions of people. Our domestic commerce is not equalled by any other two nations; yet our manufacturers, builders and merchants, are strenuously competing with the world for supremacy in foreign trade and in foreign ports. The national treasury overflows in ready money; the national credit is beyond compare. It is simply impossible to describe by words or pen the variety, richness, beauty and sublimity which the Creator of the universe has impressed upon our country. Its mountains, valleys, plains—even its deserts—its lakes, rivers, waterfalls, waterworn canyons and national parks are among the most magnificent on the globe—

"O Lord, how great are Thy works? "

The people of this favored land walk hand in hand with LIBERTY and LAW. The palladium of their liberty is enshrined and guarded in the public school, where the children of rich and poor are taught on equal terms. From the beginning the progress of the nation has been

steadily forward and upward ; although in the first one hundred years the nation waged five successful wars with foreign states, and then put down the fiercest, bloodiest, greatest civil war in history ; and at the same time extirpated the cause of it — the atrocious monster, SLAVERY. But with the ending of rebellion, with the forgiveness of sins committed by the conspirators, their aiders and abettors in that internecine strife, with the completion of the work of reconstruction of the Union upon the principles solemnly denounced in the Declaration of Independence, came not harmony between the sections, North and South. Like the Wars of the Roses, the conflict entailed much of bitterness — if not of hatred — and sullen resentment, though time was slowly drying the tears of grief and obliterating the scars of battles on both sides. The sorrowful melody of the “The Conquered Banner” did not chime with the requiem of “The Blue and the Gray” for a generation after the events that inspired them. Even when during President Cleveland’s first term, some twenty odd years after Appomatox, a tentative attempt was made to promote harmony and good feeling between the sections by the well meant order to restore the captured confederate flags to the survivors of the regiments that followed them upon the battlefields of the South, a storm of wrath and denunciation broke forth with the fury of a tornado. But when the nation, in a righteous cause, grappled with an insolent, malignant and treacherous foe, and the nation’s chieftain called to arms,—the South and North—the blue and gray, together with their sons, struck hands as did their sires at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, marched forth and conquered Spain ; and returning home, brought CONCORD, the priceless trophy, to grace their victory and bedeck their triumph. In the words of President McKinley, in 1898 : “Sectional lines no longer mar the map of the United States ; sectional feeling no longer holds back the love we bear each other. Fraternity is the national anthem, sung by a chorus of forty-five states, and our territories at home and beyond the seas. The Union is once more the common altar of our love and loyalty, our devotion and sacrifice. The old flag again waves over us in peace, and new glories which your sons and ours have this day added to its sacred fold. \* \* \* What a glorious future awaits us if unitedly, wisely and bravely we face the new problems now pressing upon us, determined to solve them for right and humanity ! \* \* \* Reunited ! one country again and forever ! Proclaim it from the press and pulpit ! Teach it in the schools ! Write it across the skies.’”

And so under McKinley's beneficent administration the people of the sections, North and South, as well as East and West, became more firmly united than ever before, while at the same time the results of the war with Spain—though that power was contemptibly insignificant—convinced the world at large that this nation has the credentials which entitle it to respectful consideration, if not deference, in business of international concern.

Truly, the child, INDEPENDENCE, that was born into the arms of James Otis in 1761—that disenthralled himself in 1776, that was stunted, weak and sickly with the infirmities of CONFEDERATION, the scorn and jest of the proud rulers of nations in 1789—grew, because of inherent vitality, waxed strong, gained wisdom and became a giant among the powers of the earth, the marvel of history, in 1901. In this comparison one must needs recall the parable of the mustard seed “which a man took and sowed in his field: which, indeed, is the smallest of seeds: but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.” And, again, when we reflect that the few refugees that established settlements along the Atlantic coast, at Jamestown, Plymouth and New York, nigh three hundred years ago, have mingled their blood with millions from European states, who, like the builders of the Tower of Babel, spake in strange and diverse tongue; taught all to speak a common language; infused into them their sentiments of religion, their principles of liberty, of law and of government, so as to mold all into a composite, yet distinct homogeneous race and citizenship—into a body politic, in which all are equal at the foot of the throne, whereon sits Law, their king, above them all—we bring to mind that other parable from lips divine. It is “Like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three bushels of meal till the whole was leavened.”

The greatness and power of our country have evolved from the few seeds of settlements which took root in Virginia, Massachusetts and New York. And there were those who, seeing the beauty and strength of the sapling, predicted the graceful, healthy, sturdy trunk, with its wide spread limbs and deeply penetrating roots. As was revealed to the good Irish Bishop, Berkley, long before independence of Great Britain was dreamt of, and sung by him:

“The Muse, disgusted at an age and olime  
Barren of every glorious theme,  
In distant lands now waits a better time,  
Producing subjects worthy fame.



Westward the course of empire takes its way ;  
 The first four acts already past,  
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day ;  
 Time's noblest offspring is the last."

And as when John Adams was yet under the age of twenty, namely in 1755, wrote these remarkable words to a former college friend :

"England began to increase in power and magnificence, and is now the greatest nation of the globe. Soon after the Reformation a few people came over into this new world for conscience sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident *may transfer the great seat of empire to America*. It looks likely to me. Our people, according to the exactest computation, will, in another century, become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have I may say, all the naval stores of the nations in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas ; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us. *Divide et impera*. Keep us in distinct colonies, and then, some great men in each colony desiring the monarchy of the whole, they will destroy each other's influence, and keep the country in equilibrio."

One more instance out of many, that might be cited, may be borne with in virtue of the prescience which it displays : When in 1783 the independence of the United States was acknowledged in the Treaty of Peace between England, France, Spain and the United States, Count D'Aranda, who represented the King of Spain in that business, wrote a memoir thereof to his royal master, in which he made this prediction in reference to the new nation :

"I will not stop here to examine the opinions of some of our statesmen, our own countrymen as well as foreigners, which I share, on the *difficulty of preserving our power in America*. \* \* \* Without entering into any of these considerations, I shall confine myself now to that which occupies us from the dread of seeing ourselves exposed to dangers from the *new power* which we have just recognized, in a country where there is no other in condition to arrest its progress. *This Federal Republic is born a pigmy*, so to speak. It required the support and the forces of two powers as great as Spain and France in order to attain independence. *A day will come when it will be a giant, even a Collossus*, formidable in these countries. It will then forget the benefits which it has received from these two powers, and will dream of nothing but to organize itself *Liberty* of conscience, the facility for establishing a new population on immense lands, as well as the advantage of

the new government, will draw thither agriculturists and artisans from all the nations, for men always run after fortune. \* \* \* The first movement of this Power, when it has arrived at its aggrandizement, will be to obtain possession of the Floridas, in order to dominate the Gulf of Mexico. After having rendered commerce with new Spain difficult for us, it will aspire to the conquest of this vast empire, which it will not be possible for us to defend against a formidable power established on the same continent, and in its neighborhood. \* \* \* Your majesty must relieve yourself of all your possessions on the continent of the two Americas, *preserving only the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.*

It is worthy of special note that when those words were first written, Spain owned and ruled the major portion of the American continents, and that within *one hundred and fifteen years* thereafter she lost her last possessions in the Western hemisphere—Cuba and Porto Rico—in armed conflict with the power at whose baptism and birth she was sponsor.

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## AMERICAN STATESMEN.

When Lafayette was about to depart for his native land at the close of the Revolution, to whose success he had so ably contributed, he was waited on by a committee from Congress, who desired him to carry to the King of France a letter in which Congress expressed their appreciation and gratitude for the aid which that country had given to the cause of American liberty. In accepting this commission Lafayette said, in part: "May this IMMENSE TEMPLE OF FREEDOM ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! And may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of this government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders!" These FOUNDERS of the republic have all long since mingled their mortal bodies with the soil they loved so well, and for which they staked their lives and fortunes and pledged their sacred honor. Their names are, and forever shall be, entitled to be first upon the roll of statesmen deserving of sovereign honor, like Romulus, Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar and Charlemagne. But the ranks of their successors, the law-givers, are, like Caesar's famous legion, kept full in force and efficiency. These were and are the SECOND FOUNDERS of the republic, because they govern, and shall continue to govern, by their wisdom, in statute law and precept. These take their rightful place upon the roll

of fame with Moses, Lycurgus and Solon. And among these second founders were those who *preserved* the republic amid the dangers of civil strife and foreign wars, as well as those who *extended* and *enlarged* the territorial boundaries thereof by wise, farseeing, and timely legislation. The period in which these four classes did the work with which their fame is linked may be divided into four distinct epochs: First, from 1761 to 1789; second, 1789 to 1824; third, 1824 to 1861, and fourth, 1861 to 1901. And these epochs may be distinguished by leading events, specified in the first epoch as AGITATION, which resulted in the organization of patriotic associations—such as Committees of Safety and of Correspondence, “Minute Men,” “Sons of Liberty,” and the like—all resolved, finally, upon INDEPENDENCE; and the experiment of federal government under a CONFEDERATION. The events of the second epoch were: the adoption of the federal CONSTITUTION, by which a more perfect UNION was established; and the CONSTRUCTION, by the courts, of the powers expressed and implied in that instrument or charter of the people. The events of the third epoch—the stormy spell of DOMESTIC politics—in reference to FINANCE, THE TARIFF and SLAVERY—which, from the beginning, was a running sore, threatening the nation's life. The events of the fourth epoch were the REBELLION, or—(in milder terms) the attempt to disrupt and destroy the Union; the RECONSTRUCTION of the States, lately in secession mood, upon the basis of freedom for the black man; and, finally, the healing of the wounds of war in CONCORD and fraternity.

Now the history of these epochs and events is contained in the lives and works of AMERICAN STATESMEN, who, in connected, related and successive generations, lived in them and solved the eventful problems thereof as they arose; and who are still ready and able to meet every emergency in the Nation's progress. That all were able men is evident from the fact that they were chosen as representatives by and for their fellow citizens. Some there were to whom came timely Opportunity to win and hold the people's praise and gratitude. Some neglected to clasp her as she was passing, and so failed to enhance their fame and reputations; as was the case, for instance, of Richard Henry Lee, a brilliant writer of eloquent state papers, who, as mover of the resolutions concerning independence in the Congress of 1776, was entitled, by parliamentary usage and custom, and because of his well known literary qualifications, to be named as chairman of the committee for drafting the Declaration, and as such should have been selected by his colleagues to draft that document. But at this important crisis he

asked for leave of absence, on account of sickness in his family, and went to his home in Virginia; and so it came to pass that a granite shaft at Monticello contains these words, commemorative of Thomas Jefferson :

“AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.”

But, as in every group or chain of lofty mountains there are some whose snowy summits pierce the sky; and, seen from the distance towering above their fellows, glistening in the noon-day sun, are known as landmarks by which the traveler learns his bearings and marks his courses; so it is with regard to the relative and comparative reputation, ability, and fame of AMERICAN STATESMEN. All—all from the beginning—were broadminded, broadbased in understanding; intellectually able, lofty in conception and sublime in the execution of theories of government. All were devoted to the service of their country, and to the upholding of its honor; and as they recede into the perspective of the past, the qualities, the characteristics, the abilities and fame of some, as compared with their co-temporaries in the same epoch and events, seem to rise and broaden to the view; and an observant student marks them as guides in his search and travel through American history. Hence it is that, with much labor and careful discrimination in the choice of a representative number—which, of necessity, is limited and select—these guiding men of their day and generation are assembled—or, rather, their likenesses are grouped—in the PORTICO of “THIS IMMENSE TEMPLE OF FREEDOM.” With a single notable exception, all of these selected have, at this writing, gone to their eternal reward. In thus offering their portraits for patriotic consideration, the hope is indulged that “Young America” especially, and older Americans generally, by coming into frequent visual contact and intercourse with them, so to speak, may learn to know these great men as familiar, valued, nay, household friends, and reverentially keep their fame and memory green and fruitful; that thereby an interest may be awakened, and a desire stimulated, in American citizens everywhere and always to read the annals of their times, and the story of their illustrious lives; to study their works—speeches, orations, writings and laws, to the end that their great and useful public services, and their eloquence of patriotism, may sink deep in the American heart, and have increased and ever increasing influence throughout the world for all time to come! Why, if “Plutarch’s Lives of Eminent Greeks and Romans” has shaped the careers of soldiers, orators and statesmen during ages past, and is still read with pleasure and profit, not by the antiquarian alone, with what

more reason and necessity should be read and re-read the story of Eminent Americans—especially “American Statesmen”—that *their* exemplary, model public lives may be emulated by patriotic lovers not only of our glorious past but of the ever vigorous *present*, pregnant, as it is, with events which must, by the law of causation, affect our posterity for good or ill accordingly as *we* shape those events by adherence to or departure from the principles and precepts of the famous founders and fathers? For it has been very wisely said: “The most substantial glory of a country is in its virtuous great men; its prosperity will depend on its docility to learn from their example. That nation is fated to ignominy and servitude for which such men have lived in vain.”

It is scarcely necessary to state that no suggestion of politics, nor purpose of partisanship, is entertained in this design of “American Statesmen.” As political parties are aligned in these days—the commencement of the twentieth century—it would seem that there is no republican who cannot accept the principles of democracy, enunciated by Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural address, as fundamental in our form of government; nor any democrat who cannot endorse the general policy of the party that elected Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and 1864, and William McKinley in 1896 and 1900; for, that which Jefferson traced with his pen upon perishable parchment was carved in durable rock by Lincoln, while the thunder of artillery was crashing from the hills of Gettysburgh. The doctrine of James Monroe was still strong and efficient at three score years and ten in Grover Cleveland’s keeping; and, in the exchange of international courtesies, it has ever since been construed in the Potential Mode by his successors. AMERICAN STATESMEN, from first to last, were devotedly attached to party; yet loved they more the Honor and Glory of the soil which gave them birth and sustenance.

A few words by way of explanation—which is hardly necessary—of the design of the frame within which these Portraits are grouped. This represents the facade of a portico, in the Tuscan order of architecture—plain, strong and majestic—which best comports with the strength, simplicity and majesty of our “Immense Temple of Freedom.” The foundation is composed of the thirteen original colonies or states, showing dates of settlement—Massachusetts in the middle, with New York and Virginia on either side, as in keeping with the facts that the War for Independence began at Lexington, was decided at Saratoga and ended at Yorktown. The Pedestals are inscribed “DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE” and “ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION” in the first group;

but in the others the articles give place to "CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES." The Columns bear the names of the states admitted to the Union, and the year of their admission. The Pediment shows the title "AMERICAN STATESMEN," the epoch in which they were active, and the legend, or motto, of events that concerned them. LIBERTY and LAW, cardinal and associated ideas in our national life, are placed above the columns. The cornucopia, or horn of plenty, is a symbol of *strength*, as well as of wealth and resources. The flag group, representing the flag raised by Washington on taking command of the continental forces at Cambridge (stripes and bars) and the flag ordered by Congress in 1777, (stripes and stars in a circle) and showing the stars in token of the new states added to the Union during the several epochs, beginning with 1789. The laurel wreaths and palm branches as signifying merit and success in and to those whose portraits are grouped below. Finally, a draft is made upon classical mythology for a representation of Clio, Muse of History, and Minerva, Goddess of wisdom and patroness of the wise, the good and great.

In the arrangement of the portraits in these four groups an endeavor was made to have all sections of the nation, if not all the original states, represented by some illustrious son or sons therein born or adopted. If it be objected that Massachusetts, Virginia and New York have a majority, it is urged that the influence of those states, in the order mentioned, is believed to have been paramount and predominant in our national history so far.

The *first* group begins with James Otis, associated with Patrick Henry, the Pioneers of Agitation, followed by Samuel Adams, the Father of the Revolution, which was financed by Elbridge Gerry and Robert Morris; John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, and first signer of the Declaration of Independence; John Adams, one of the ablest men in that body; Jefferson, the author of that instrument; Franklin, the diplomat *par excellence* of the revolution; and ends with Charles Carroll, the last survivor of the fifty-six immortals that signed the same.

The *second* group begins with Washington, President of the Convention that framed the Constitution, and first President under its provisions, followed by Hamilton, Madison, Jay (first Chief Justice of the United States), who were the authors of the Federalist, and John Marshall, the great Chief Justice. The lower row in this group begins with Robert R. Livingston and ends with James Monroe—the *author*

of the Monroe Doctrine—who were the Commissioners that negotiated “the purchase” from France of the Louisiana Territory, in commemoration of which a Centennial Fair is to be held in St. Louis in 1904. Between these two are the orators and statesmen, Gouveneur Morris and Fisher Ames, and Albert Gallatin, national financier and promoter of plans for developing the nation’s natural resources.

The *third* group begins with John Quincy Adams, who was chosen President at a time when political party passions ran low, and ends with Douglas, whose debate with Lincoln roused such passions to the highest tension. Between Adams and Douglas are the warrior statesman and extreme partisan, Jackson, and the intellectual giants of that epoch, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Benton, Randolph and Lewis Cass (whose public services during fifty-six years were fruitful in the development of the Northwest territory from which sprung Michigan, Wisconsin, etc.). It was during President Polk’s administration that our boundaries were *enlarged* by annexations from Mexico.

The *fourth* group begins with Lincoln, as the preceding one ended with his rival, Douglas. Here we have the great Secretary of State, Seward; Sumner; Alexander H. Stephens, as a representative of confederated secession, here, as suitable to the idea of concord; and President Grant, who, as Lincoln’s sword arm, crushed the rebellion; Garfield, Blaine, Cleveland, Sherman. This group and epoch began with Lincoln struggling against sectional DISCORD, and ends with McKinley serenely contemplating national CONCORD.

The designer has aimed to follow the course of history, through the windings, whirlpools and vicissitudes of the Republic’s career—from AGITATION to INDEPENDENCE, and self-government under the defective experiment of CONFEDERATION; through the CONSTITUTION or more perfect UNION, and CONSTRUCTION of the powers thereof; into DOMESTIC POLITICS, theories of FINANCE, the trials of economic policies, as illustrated in the TARIFF, and the vexations incidental to SLAVERY; and from REBELLION to RECONSTRUCTION and CONCORD of the sections North and South—a career whose springs of action united and mingled in a common course and current, which—

“As some bright river, that, from fall to fall  
In many a maze descending, bright in all,  
Finds some fair region, where, each labyrinth past,  
In one full lake of light it rests at last.”

But it is not resting in idle stagnation. While from the surface of conditions now existing there seems to be no indication of danger to our institutions, deep down in the depths there lie hidden some great questions which must be brought to the surface and floated, though mighty splashing follow. Yet, as in the past there were statesmen equal to every critical crisis, so there are statesmen now living, and coming in the ensuing generation, who shall grasp and shape events of the next epoch in our history ; who will resolve the perplexities of capital and labor, of immigration, commerce and transportation, foreign policy, and the tremendous problems of government in our possessions in the Indies, East and West ; and who will conserve peace and good will with all the world by building up a navy in keeping with our standing among the powers of the earth. And these statesmen will do these things with less of factional or party feeling and acrimony than has hitherto sometimes marked our conduct, and with greater intensity of purpose and desire to work out the nation's MANIFEST DESTINY.

The life and career of a nation are like the life and career of a man—it has the weaknesses of infancy, the vagaries, whims and aspirations of youth, the fixed ambitions and purposes of educated, earnest and strenuous manhood ; old age, decrepitude and death. This nation is now in the flush of young manhood, strong and ambitious. It is entering upon the stern tasks of its existence with wisdom, matured by experience, and with the confidence of youth, the skill and vigor of a trained and valiant athlete, eager for the contest. And, perhaps, when those tasks shall become accomplished facts, and constitute another epoch in our history, someone, succeeding us in the premises, may assemble another group of "AMERICAN STATESMEN," who shall have worthily borne a part therein ; and that group, in respect to the events of that epoch, may be distinguished by the motto of "THE STRENUOUS LIFE."

"To the claims of our great men, of every age and time, of every sect and party, let us then be faithful. Let history transmit to other generations the story of their lives ; let the canvas and the marble perpetuate the image of their forms ; let poetry and music breathe forth their names in hymns and harmonies ; let the united voice of their countrymen echo their praises to the remotest shores,—so that wherever an American foot shall tread, or a lover of American liberty be found, there, too, the memory of their greatness shall abide,—a beauty and an excellence, the joy of all the earth !" —BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.



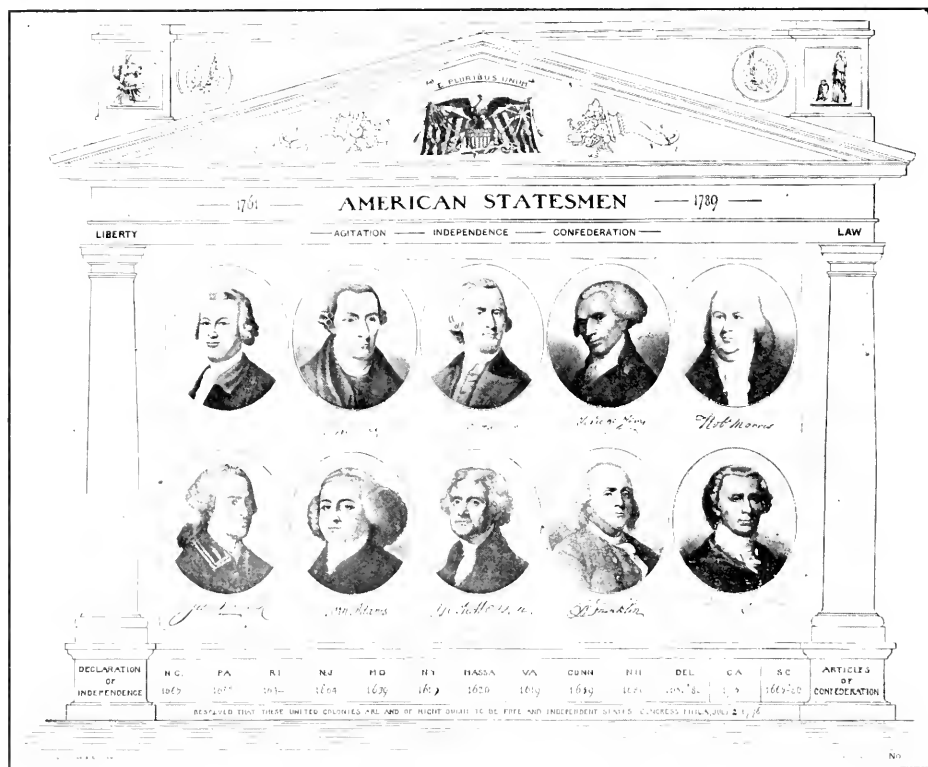


## REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a case as this I despise a fee) I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other, as this Writ of Assistance is.—JAMES OTIS.

I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish and only one of a thousand were to survive and retain his liberty! One such freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved —SAMUEL ADAMS.

Freedom of religion, freedom of the press and freedom of the person under the protection of the *Habeas Corpus*—these are the principles that have guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.—THOMAS JEFFERSON



( REDUCED FROM 22x24 INCHES. )

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

JAMES OTIS, "The Original Agitator." Born at Barnstable, Mass., February 5, 1725; killed by lightning, May 28, 1783; graduated from Harvard College, 1743; admitted to the bar; was Advocate General under the Crown in the colony of Massachusetts, which office he resigned in order to appear on behalf of the people against the issue of WRITS of Assistance, in Boston in 1761. In the argument of this cause, as John Adams says, "American independence was then and there born." Otis was soon thereafter chosen as a representative of the people in the colonial legislature, and was re-elected every year during the active portion of his life. No American was so frequently mentioned and denounced or applauded in the British Parliament as Otis. His influence as an orator and legislator was such that he was regarded as the fomenter of rebellion and foremost *agitator* for independence. In 1765 he was a delegate from Massachusetts to the first Continental Congress, held at Albany, N. Y.

PATRICK HENRY, "The Orator of Nature." Born in Hanover county, Virginia, in 1736; died 1799; educated in grammar school kept by his father; at fifteen years of age was clerk in a country store, but was a failure in commercial pursuits; was a devoted reader of history, especially that of Greece and Rome, whose orators perhaps excited emulation in his bosom. At twenty-four was admitted to the bar, and three years later he won his first signal triumph in what was known as "The Parsons' Case." In 1765, was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, where he established his fame as an orator and debater in support of the resolutions against the Stamp Act. It is said that these resolutions struck the key note of the struggle for independence.

In 1775, in the convention of Virginia, he delivered a speech in favor of a motion that the "colony be immediately put in a state of defense." This was the occasion for his famous "give me liberty or give me death." Was a member of the Continental Congress of 1775, and of the convention which framed a constitution for Virginia in 1776. He was Governor of the State for three years; was a member of the legislature, and in 1784 was again elected Governor; was elected delegate to the convention for framing the federal constitution in 1787, but did not attend. In the following year, as a member of the State convention, he opposed with all his power the

adoption of that instrument, but the influence of James Madison prevailed in its ratification. In 1789 he declined the offer of Washington to make him Secretary of State. He also declined the nomination to the office of Governor in 1796, and the mission to France offered by President Adams in 1797. But two years later he was elected a member of the legislature because he desired to oppose in that body what he deemed a dangerous tendency of the Virginia resolutions of 1798. His death occurring, he did not take his seat.

SAMUEL ADAMS, "The Father of the Revolution," "The American Cato." Born in Boston, Mass., September 22, 1722; died October 3, 1803; graduated from Harvard, 1740, as A. M.; took up mercantile pursuits, but his mind seemed fixed upon politics. Opposed the Stamp Act and all kinds of schemes of Great Britain to tax the colonies. As early as 1763, in a letter of instructions designed to guide the members of the General Assembly from Boston, he denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies against their consent, and, in a circular letter, suggested a union of all the colonies to oppose British aggressions upon their rights — which was perhaps the first public expression of such sentiments on this continent. In 1765 was a representative from Boston in the General Assembly, and was therein the leader of the opposition to the Royal Governor. He originated the system of "Committees for Correspondence," by which the sentiment for independence was so powerfully influenced. Adams was the special subject of the hatred of the Crown and of the Royal Governor because of his fearless defense of the rights of the people. He was honored, like Hancock, by being excluded from the general pardon for political offenses, being therein styled as "Arch Rebels." Was a delegate to the first Continental Congress and continued an active member of Congress until 1781, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was on almost every important committee of Congress during his connection with that body. Retiring from Congress in 1781, he was elected a member of the convention to form a constitution for Massachusetts, and was of the committee that framed it. He was successively a member of the State Senate, the President of the Senate, Lieutenant Governor and Governor of the State, to which office he was annually elected, until the infirmities of age compelled him to retire from active life.

ELBRIDGE GERRY; born in Marblehead, Mass., July 14, 1744; graduated from Harvard College, with degree of A. B., in 1762; en-

gaged in commercial pursuits and acquired a fortune, while, by intelligence and integrity, he earned the lasting esteem of his fellow citizens, became a popular leader, and was fearless in denouncing his sentiments of opposition to the acts of Parliament by which it was sought to tax the colonies. Was elected to the general Court of the Province in 1773, where he was associated with the celebrated John Adams and others of note in patriotic concerns, until the War of the Revolution broke out. Was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. In January, 1776, was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. Owing to his great knowledge of commercial affairs, he was put upon many committees of that body, and as such was active and diligent in the discharge of his duties therein, rendering the most important services to the cause of liberty. He was ardent in the support of Lee's resolution, declaring the independence of the colonies, and signed the Declaration of Independence, remaining in Congress until 1780. He resigned in order to attend to his private affairs, which, owing to his official duties, he had been obliged to neglect. Re-elected, however, in 1783, he remained until 1785. In all the affairs of the government, during his long service in Congress, he was indefatigable and useful, especially in regard to the government's financial operations, in which he was largely associated with Robert Morris. Mr. Gerry was a member of the convention of Massachusetts which adopted the Federal Constitution and was twice elected and served as a member of Congress under it. He was appointed by President John Adams as one of the envoys to the Court of France, his colleagues being C. C. Pinckney and John Marshall. Upon his return from that mission, he was a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts on the Republican ticket, but was defeated. He was, however, elected Governor for the next term. In 1813 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and while in this office, on November 23, 1814, he died suddenly. He was buried in the Congressional cemetery, and his grave was distinguished by a handsome monument erected by order of Congress.

ROBERT MORRIS, "The Financier" of the Revolution, was born in England, January 1733; died May 8, 1806, at Philadelphia. Was thirteen years old when he came to this country, and settled in Philadelphia; became the leading merchant and importer in that city. Notwithstanding great financial losses he joined heartily and induced others to join in the non-importation agreements, which became general

throughout the country after the passage of the Stamp Act and the Tea Act. When the fight took place at Lexington between the colonists and the British troops, and hope of reconciliation was thereby abandoned, Mr. Morris took a very active part in the cause of liberty. Was elected by the Legislature of Pennsylvania as a delegate to the General Congress in 1775, where, in recognition of his business talents, he was appointed as one of the "Secret Committee," the duties of which consisted in managing the financial affairs of the government. In the spring of 1776, Congress appointed him *special commissioner* to negotiate bills of exchange and to take other measures to procure money for the common defense. Was again elected to Congress in July, 1776, and signed the Declaration of Independence on the 2d of August following. His labors in Congress were incessant and of the utmost utility. When the army under Washington had faded away to a few half naked and starved militia, during the retreat across New Jersey, at the close of 1776, Mr. Morris showed his patriotism and confidence in the success of the cause by loaning upon his own account, at Washington's request, the sum of \$10,000.00, by which Washington was enabled to collect and pay that gallant band with which he re-crossed the Delaware and won victory at Trenton. There are many other instances where he was able to procure financial aid upon his own credit, when Congress was unable to do so. In 1781, the darkest days of the war, he organized a bank in Philadelphia for the issuing of paper money, and thus gave incalculable aid to the cause. In this year Congress appointed him its financial agent—what is now Secretary of the Treasury. It has been truly said of him "If it were not demonstrable by official records, posterity would hardly be made to believe that the campaign of 1781, which resulted in the capture of Cornwallis, and virtually closed the Revolutionary war, was sustained wholly upon the credit of an individual merchant, Robert Morris." After peace was restored, Mr. Morris served twice in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Was a delegate to the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania and took his seat in the first meeting of Congress at New York to organize the government under that instrument. Washington offered him the post of Secretary of the Treasury, but he declined; whereupon Washington requested him to name a candidate, and he at once recommended Alexander Hamilton, who was appointed.

JOHN HANCOCK; born near Quincy, Mass., 1737; died October 8, 1793; graduated from Harvard College at seventeen. At the age of twenty-six, came into possession of a fortune from his uncle—said to be one of the largest in the province. Relinquishing commercial pursuits soon thereafter, he became active in politics. In 1766, was representative for Boston in the Provincial Assembly, where he had as colleagues such men as James Otis, Samuel and John Adams. He was one of the first who proposed and adopted the non-importation measures—a system which gradually spread to all the sister colonies. During eight years he was recognized as a popular leader; and drew down upon himself the wrath of offended royalty. He had the unique distinction, in company with his compatriot, Samuel Adams, to be denounced as “Arch Rebels,” and was excluded from the general pardon offered by the Royal Governor. In March, 1774, on the anniversary of the “Boston Massacre,” he delivered an oration which is classic, denouncing in the boldest terms the measures of the British government. In 1774, he was without dissent elected President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts; and in the same year he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was re-elected in 1775. This year he was elected as President of that body, and as such was the first to sign the Declaration of Independence. Owing to ill health he resigned that office in 1777. He was a delegate to the convention called to form the first constitution of Massachusetts, and, under that instrument, was the first governor of that commonwealth—the first who had this dignity conferred by the voluntary suffrage of the people. For two years he declined that honor, but again accepted, and held the office until his death. While governor he was chosen president of the convention called for the adoption of the Federal Constitution, but sickness prevented his attendance until the last week of the session. He voted for its adoption, and his influence secured a majority. Mr. Hancock, in 1773, married a Miss Quincy—a relative of John Adams—by whom he had one son, who died in his youth. Mr. Hancock died without heirs of his name.

JOHN ADAMS; born at Braintree (now Quincy), Mass., October 30, 1735; died July 4, 1826. Was a lineal descendant from John Alden, who came over in the Mayflower. Graduated from Harvard; was a lawyer. From youth he was given to the contemplation of general politics; and before he was twenty-one years of age he predicted the independence and greatness of this nation. When the Stamp Act was

passed in 1765, he raised a whirlwind of opposition to it by his "Essay on the Crown and Feudal Law," and rose high in popular esteem. He was active at Boston with John Hancock, James Otis, Samuel Adams and others during all the years following. Was repeatedly elected by the people to the Executive Council of the province, but Governor Gage as often erased his name, whereby his popularity increased. He was a delegate to the first Continental Congress, which convened at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and was re-elected in 1775. It was his influence that made George Washington commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary forces. In May, 1776, Adams introduced a resolution in Congress "that the colonies should form governments independent of the Crown," and a month later he was foremost in supporting Lee's resolution of independence. Was one of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and signed the same. In 1777, was sent by Congress a special commissioner to the Court of France, to act with Benjamin Franklin. Returning home in 1779, he helped to form a constitution for his native State. While so employed, Congress appointed him Minister to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce. That mission failing, he was made Minister to Holland. The confidence of Congress in his abilities was so great that he held at one time no less than six commissions abroad, each of a different character. In 1781, he was associated with Franklin, Jay and Laurens as commissioner to conclude terms of peace with England, and was first to sign the Treaty of Peace with that government. In 1785, he was made Minister of the United States at the Court of Great Britain. He resigned this in 1788 and returned home. The Federal Constitution was adopted during his absence. He was elected as Vice-President on the ticket with Washington, the first President under the new constitution; and was so re-elected in 1792. He was chosen President in 1796, and at the end of the term, in 1801, he retired from public life. In 1816, was presidential elector on the Democratic ticket. In 1824, was president of the convention to revise the constitution of Massachusetts, declining on account of age. Mr. Adams was married in 1766 to Abigail Smith, by whom he had several children, the eldest, John Quincy, becoming President in 1825, whose son, Charles Francis Adams, was Minister of the United States at the Court of Great Britain during our civil war. Mr. Adams died July 4, 1826 — the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and at nearly the same hour in which Thomas Jefferson died. His last utter-



ance was "*Independence forever!*" He was the first and last president elected as a "Federalist."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, "The Sage of Monticello." Born April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, Virginia; died July 4, 1826. His ancestors came from Wales. From his father he inherited a considerable estate, which he called Monticello, which was his life-long residence. He was educated at William and Mary College. In 1765, while a student of law, he heard Patrick Henry's celebrated speech against the Stamp Act, which determined him thenceforward as an avowed champion of freedom. In 1769, he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature, and became at once a most active and popular leader in that body. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence—a system established throughout the colonies for concerted action against the measures of King and Parliament—and was therein very active with his pen. In 1774, he published a powerfully written pamphlet entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," which was re-published in England. He was elected, in 1775, a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, and was therein one of the most efficient members. In his first year's service he soon became distinguished as a man of great talents among men of talent from all the colonies; so that when, in 1776, a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence, he, as one of the same, was chosen by his associates as its chairman—though the youngest of all—and, upon the request of all, he drew up that immortal document substantially as it was unanimously adopted by Congress, July 4, 1776. During the summer of 1776, he was elected as a member of the Virginia Assembly, and withdrew from Congress in order to fulfill the duties of this new honor. During the remaining years of the Revolution, he was in the service of his native State. 1777 to 1778, he was on a commission to revise the laws of Virginia. To him belongs the credit of first proposing in a legislative body a law forbidding the importation of slaves; for annulling the English system of primogeniture; for establishing public schools, and for confirming freedom in religious opinion. In 1779, he succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor or Virginia. In 1781, he wrote his celebrated "Notes on Virginia," upon request of M. De Marbois, secretary of the French legation—a work which was translated into French, and made him popular in Europe. He was elected, in 1783, a member of Congress, and was one of the committee to whom was referred the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. On their report the treaty was ratified. In 1784, he wrote

an essay on the coinage and currency. To him we are indebted for the decimal system of our coinage. In May, 1784, he was appointed, with John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, minister to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and on that business reached Paris in August of the same year. While thus absent, the Federal Constitution was adopted, and Washington had become the first of our presidents. Upon a visit home, Washington offered him the office of Secretary of State, and he accepted. While in the Cabinet, he boldly avowed his sympathy with the populace of France in their struggle for republicanism; and his difference with Washington in this regard made him the leader of republicanism here—a distinction that obtains today, as he is regarded as the founder of the Democratic party. In 1793, he resigned his seat as a cabinet officer. In 1796, he was defeated by John Adams for the Presidency, but was elected Vice-President. In 1800, he was successful for the Presidency against Mr. Adams. Although Aaron Burr was tied with him on thirty-five ballots, Mr. Jefferson was elected. His first term is forever distinguished by the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France—his commissioners in that business were Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe. At the close of his presidency he retired to private life. His is the credit of establishing the University of Virginia. Toward the close of his life, being somewhat embarrassed financially, Congress purchased his library for thirty thousand dollars—which was the beginning of the Congressional Library. It was a most singular coincidence that he and John Adams died on the same day, July 4, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's birth-day -- a coincidence which gave Daniel Webster occasion for his oration, "Adams and Jefferson."

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.** In complete greatness, it is doubtful if this continent has produced the intellectual equal of Benjamin Franklin. Born in Boston, Mass., January 17, 1706; died April 17, 1790. Was educated in the public schools; when twelve years old learned the printer's trade; when seventeen emigrated to Philadelphia, which he made his home until his death. Here he found employment at his trade. Worked at his trade also in London, England, for a time, until in 1726 he returned to Philadelphia, and there established himself as a jobbing printer. In 1729, he bought the "Pennsylvania Gazette," which, under his management, soon became the leading newspaper in America. In 1731, he established the first circulating library on this continent. In 1732, he began the publication of "Poor Richard's Al-

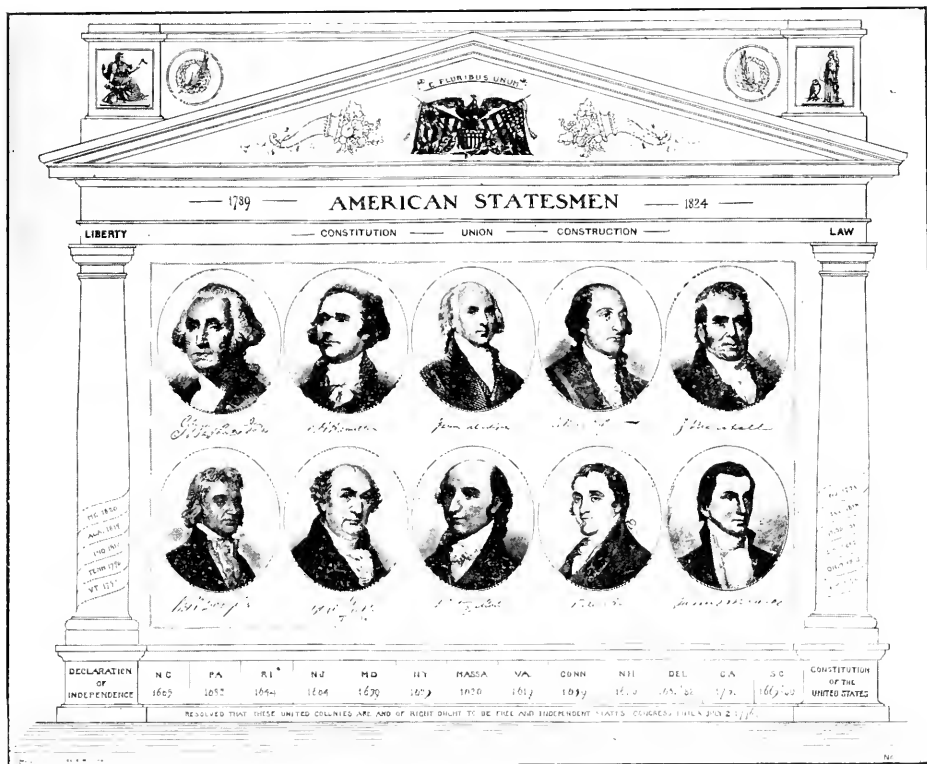
manacs," which were continued for a quarter of a century, and were translated into various European languages. During all these labors he became familiar and fluent in the Latin, French, Italian and Spanish languages. In 1736, he was chosen Clerk of the Pennsylvania Legislative Assembly. In the meantime he was appointed Deputy Postmaster of the colonies under the Crown. About 1737, he organized the first police force and fire company in the colonies; the creation of an hospital; the organization of the militia; the foundation of the University of Pennsylvania, and the American Philosophical Society. Meanwhile he made discoveries in electricity, and established his fame as a natural philosopher. In 1754, he was a delegate to a Congress of Commissioners from the several colonies, which convened in Albany, N. Y., to devise a plan of common defense, in anticipation of the war with France. In 1755, he was appointed as Pennsylvania's Agent to England, and performed the duties of that most important post for five years, returning home in 1762, and two years later was again sent to London as the Special Agent of Pennsylvania. While in London on this mission, he powerfully asserted himself for the repeal of the Stamp Act. While representing Pennsylvania, he was also commissioned to act as agent by and for the colonies of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Georgia. In 1775, seeing that a conflict was inevitable, he sailed for Philadelphia, and on the day of his arrival was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. By this Congress he was made Postmaster General of the colonies. In 1776, he was made one of the committee appointed to draft a declaration of independence. In this year he was chosen president of the convention which framed the first constitution for the State of Pennsylvania. In September, 1776, with John Adams and Arthur Lee, he was commissioned by Congress to solicit aid from the King of France for the Revolution. During eight years of his sojourn at Paris, he was the object of greater interest than any other man, and his influence at the Court in the cause of independence has no parallel in the history of diplomacy. In the crisis of our affairs, the winter of 1777-'78, he obtained a treaty of alliance with the King of France. In six years following he procured loans from that country aggregating 26,000,000 francs. He was one of the commissioners that signed the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain in 1783, and this done he asked Congress to relieve him from further duty. Not, however, until 1785 did Congress see fit to accept his resignation, Thomas Jefferson succeeding him. Franklin was then seventy-nine years old. Returning to Philadelphia in 1785, he was at once made chairman of the Municipal Coun-

cil, and shortly afterwards was made president of the State, holding that office for three years. In 1787, he was one of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. This was his last service for the public; yet, in the next two years, he helped to organize the first society on this continent formed for the purpose of abolishing slavery, and, as president of this society, he signed the first remonstrance against slavery that was addressed to Congress. Not only his country, but the whole civilized world mourned his death. In testimonial of his matchless services to his country, Congress directed a period of mourning for thirty days. In France, the orator Mirabeau pronounced a brilliant eulogium upon his name. "The genius which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity. \* \* \* Enlightened and free Europe at least owes its remembrance, and its regrets, to one of the greatest men who have ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty."

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton; born Sept. 20, 1737, in Maryland; died in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 14, 1832, in his ninety-sixth year. At eight years of age his father sent him to be educated in France at the Jesuit College of St. Omer. Learned law in England. When he was twenty-eight years old, returned home. His father dying when Charles was twenty-six years of age, he came into possession of estates which made him the richest man of that day in the colonies. When he returned home, as a most finished scholar and gentleman, the people of the whole colonies were strongly agitated over the passage of the Stamp Act. His attention was at once arrested, and he turned his mind intently upon political affairs. He engaged in newspaper controversies with the authorities of Maryland, and wielded his pen so powerfully in support of the Patriot cause, that his opponents retreated discomfited. In 1771 and 1772 he was especially distinguished as a writer, and his reputation was established in all the other colonies. In the latter year he wrote a series of letters against the right, affirmed by the British government, to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever, under the signature of "The First Citizen." The Secretary of the Colony of Maryland, Mr. Dulauny, wrote in opposition to them, but was completely unhorsed in the discussion. For this service the people instructed their representatives in the Legislature to return their thanks to the unknown author. But when he became known, large numbers of people thanked him personally. Mr. Carroll was appointed a member of the

## FOREIGN POLICY.

"Observe good faith and justice toward all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. \* \* Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. \* \* \* It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; \* \* \* Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.—GEORGE WASHINGTON.



( REDUCED FROM 22x24 INCHES.)

### " THE MONROE DOCTRINE."

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.—PRESIDENT MONROE, Seventh Annual Message, December 2, 1823.



first "Committee of Safety of Maryland," and in 1775 he was elected to the Provincial Assembly. At that time Maryland was opposed to independence. Early in 1776, Mr. Carroll made a visit to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and so favorably was he known to that body, that he was appointed on a committee to visit Canada to try and bring those Provinces to join in opposition to Great Britain. On his return from that mission, he found Congress debating the resolution of Independence. He went at once to Maryland, and influenced the legislature to favor that measure. He was elected a delegate to Congress, with instructions to "vote on any question therein as his judgment might dictate." He arrived in Philadelphia on July 8, too late to vote for Independence, but he signed the Declaration on August 2d. Soon after he took his seat, he was appointed a member of "The Board of War," and continued therein during all of the time he was a member of Congress, retaining meanwhile his membership of the Maryland Assembly. In 1776 he was a member of the convention that framed the first Constitution of his native state, and, after its adoption, he was chosen a member of the State Senate. He continued in Congress till 1788, when he relinquished his seat. He was elected to the Maryland Senate in 1781, and continued as such till the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1788, when he was elected United States Senator from Maryland. Here he remained two years. He was again State Senator from 1790 to 1801. He then retired to private life, at the age of sixty-four years. The remaining thirty-two years of his life were passed at his home, honored and revered by the Republic with whose existence and life he was so long identified. Of the fifty-six immortals who signed the Declaration of Independence, he was the last to go to his eternal reward.

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## 1789—CONSTITUTION—UNION—CONSTRUCTION.—1824

GEORGE WASHINGTON, "The Father of His Country." Born in Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22, 1732; died at Mt. Vernon, Virginia, December 14, 1799. His opportunities for education were limited. Was proficient in mathematics, in which he was largely self taught. For three years, after he was sixteen, he was engaged in surveying the extensive domain then belonging to Lord Fairfax. At nineteen he was appointed as adjutant of the Virginia troops with rank of major, and within two years after was made commander of the northern

district of Virginia. In 1755, was commissioned Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia forces. He was at Braddock's defeat, and succeeded in bringing off the remnant of Braddock's troops in good order. In 1758 he commanded the advance guard of the expedition that captured Fort Duquesne. The war over, he married a rich widow, Mrs. Custis, and settled down upon his estate at Mt. Vernon, which he inherited from his half brother Lawrence. Here, for twenty years, he was a typical Virginia planter, and was repeatedly elected to the legislature of that colony. In 1774, he was one of the seven delegates sent by Virginia to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. After the battle at Lexington, Congress commissioned him as Commander-in Chief of the Continental forces, upon motion of John Adams. He took command at Cambridge, July 2, 1775, and within nine months thereafter, compelled the British troops to evacuate Boston. The history of the Revolutionary war is a history of his campaigns. In planning the campaign which ended in the surrender of Cornwallis, he received his only financial aid from Robert Morris, who procured the money upon his own credit. On Dec. 20, 1783, he returned his commission to Congress and retired to private life; thenceforth he gave his great influence in support of a convention to frame a Federal constitution, and when that convention met he was unanimously chosen as its President and presiding officer. It is owing to his paramount influence that that instrument was ratified by the requisite number of the states in conventions called for that purpose. When the new government began business he was the unanimous choice of the electors for President of the United States, and was so re-elected in 1793—the only one of the illustrious line to be so distinguished. In a farewell message—which is a classic in our political literature, well worthy of being committed to memory by every schoolboy—he declined a third election to that exalted station; and at the end of his second term, in March, 1797, returned to his estates and resumed the plantation life he loved so well. In the year following, however, he was again called into the service of his country, by Commission of Congress, being made Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces, in anticipation of war with France. While making military plans and preparations for the expected campaign, he was taken ill and died quite suddenly at Mt. Vernon, as before said, Dec. 14, 1799. The whole country was profoundly shocked by his death. Countless eulogies were pronounced upon his life and services, the leading one in Congress being that delivered by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, who said of him, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in



the Hearts of His Countrymen." \* \* \* Providence denied him children, in order that he might become "The Father of his Country."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Born in the island of Nevis, W. Indies, in 1757; died Jan. 12, 1804, at New York City, from the effects of a pistol shot received the day before in a duel with Aaron Burr. When a child he was taken by his mother to the island of St. Croix, and, having received all the educational advantages to be there obtained, he entered a commercial house at the age of thirteen, displaying therein the abilities of a master intellect. At the age of fifteen he left the West Indies and came to New York; attended Grammar school at Elizabethtown, N. J., for a year, and then entered as a student of Kings (now Columbia) College in 1774. While a student here he became Captain of a Company of Artillery in the service of Congress. In that command he took part in several battles of the Revolution, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. He was General Washington's private secretary for some time, with the rank of Lt.-Colonel. In 1787 he married a daughter of Robert Livingston. In the years following this event he wrote a series of letters or essays exposing with great force and clearness the inherent weakness and defects of the Articles of Confederation under which the Federal government was doing business; and it is alleged that he was the first American statesman to suggest the formation of a more perfect Union under a constitution of adequate power. He was a delegate to the convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787, with this purpose in view, and though the plan of organic law and government proposed by him was not accepted, the Constitution then and there framed embodied his theories and principles which have since been controlling in the Federal government. Indeed, as was said of him by the historian Guizot: "There is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order, of force and of duration, which he did not powerfully contribute to inject into it and cause to predominate." Pending the adoption of the Constitution by the several states, Hamilton, in conjunction with James Madison and John Jay, wrote the papers in "The Federalist,"—though, according to Henry Cabot Lodge, Hamilton wrote the major portion of these celebrated essays—in order to convince the people at large that the proposed Constitution was the best that could be obtained. He was a delegate to the Convention of the State of New York, called to ratify the Constitution, and it was chiefly by his influence that the convention adopted it. When the new government under its provisions began, Washington

appointed Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, on the request, it is said, of Robert Morris, to whom he had first offered that post. Hamilton's papers and reports, while in this position, are masterpieces. His skill as a financier was characterized by Daniel Webster in these words : "He smote the rock of the National resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet." He declined the offer to become Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, preferring to practice law. Resigning his secretaryship, he returned to the practice of law at New York City, and was soon without a rival at the head of his profession. His relentless opposition to Aaron Burr brought a challenge to a duel, in anticipation of which, it seems, Burr practiced daily with his pistol.

JAMES MADISON, "The Father of the Constitution." Born in King George county, Virginia, March 16, 1751; died June 20, 1836; graduated from Princeton College at the age of twenty years; was admitted to the bar in his native State; was delegate to the convention which formed a constitution for the State of Virginia in 1776; in the next year was chosen a member of the Council of State, and was conspicuous and influential therein till the end of 1779. In this year was elected delegate to the Federal Congress, and continued a member of that body till 1784, when he was chosen a member of the Virginia Legislature, wherein he was active in the promotion of the movement for the organization of a stronger federal government under a constitution. Was delegate from Virginia to the convention in Philadelphia which met in 1787, and framed the Constitution of the United States, which was finally shaped, largely by his influence. In order to secure the adoption of the constitution, he associated himself with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in the publication of a series of articles, which in 1788 were issued from the Press to the People, under the title of "The Federalist." In the convention of Virginia, called to adopt or reject the proposed Federal Constitution, he was its most powerful supporter, contending against the great influence of Patrick Henry, who was opposed to it; and it was mainly through Madison's influence that this convention adopted it. In 1789, he was a member of Congress under this constitution, and soon became the leader of the anti-federalist party therein. In 1797, he withdrew to private life, but in the next year he wrote the so-called "Virginia Resolutions," which were adopted by the legislature, and which declared the "Alien" and

“Sedition” laws, passed by Congress in that year, to be “null, void, and of no effect.” When Thomas Jefferson became President, March 4, 1801, he appointed Madison Secretary of State, and he held this office until he himself was elected President in 1809. He was re-elected to the chief magistracy, and at the end of this term he retired to his country seat, Montpelier, and employed his time in agricultural pursuits, and as an adviser to the statesmen of his party to the day of his death.

JOHN JAY; born in New York City, December 23, 1745; died at Bedford, N. Y., May 17, 1829; graduated from Columbia College; was a lawyer. Served as a member of the Continental Congress, from New York, 1774 to 1777, in 1778 and 1779. Was a delegate to the convention that created the first constitution of the State of New York, in 1776, and was Chief Justice of that State. In 1779, was Minister of the United States to Spain. In 1783, was one of the ministers of the United States who negotiated the Treaty of Paris, by which the independence of the United States was acknowledged. Was Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the confederated union of the United States. Was the first Chief Justice of the United States, from 1789 to 1795. In 1794, he was appointed by President Washington Minister Extraordinary to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty with that power. The result of his efforts—since known as “Jay’s Treaty”—were submitted to the United States Senate for ratification in June, 1795, receiving the sanction of that body and Washington’s signature. The question of the endorsement of this treaty by the government led to one of the bitterest discussions in the press, on the platform, and in legislative halls, that ever occurred in this country. During the discussion, copies of the treaty, and effigies of Jay, were publicly burned. The most outrageous charges were made against Washington, which he himself said were “in terms so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick-pocket.” Still, as Washington believed the terms of that treaty were the best obtainable in the circumstances, the weight of his influence turned the scale in its favor, and the House of Representatives, in April, 1796, by a small majority, decided to carry it into effect. The struggle in the house concerning it gave opportunity to Fisher Ames, a member from Massachusetts, to deliver a speech in its favor, which for force, elegance and eloquence is generally regarded as a classic of legislative debate.

JOHN MARSHALL, "The Great Chief Justice." Born in Farquier county, Virginia, September 24, 1755; died at Philadelphia, June 6, 1835; was educated at Westmoreland, and by private tutor. Began the study of law at the age of eighteen, but suspended to join the patriot army in the revolution, in which he served to the end. Meantime was admitted to practice at the bar, and at the close of the war began practice. In 1782 and 1787, was a member of the Virginia Legislature. Was also a member of the convention of Virginia, called to ratify the federal constitution, and was conspicuous and masterly in support of it. When the question arose in Washington's cabinet: whether the constitution should be strictly or liberally construed,—Jefferson being the leader for the former, and Hamilton for the latter,—Marshall supported the views held by Washington and Hamilton. From 1792 to 1795, he was devoted entirely to the practice of his profession. In the last year was again elected to the legislature, and therein appeared as a champion of "Jay's Treaty," in a speech in opposition to a resolution condemnatory thereof, so powerful as to change a minority to a majority. Washington offered him the post of Attorney General of the United States, which he declined; and he also declined the place of Minister to France, but accepted the same in 1797, as a colleague of Elbridge Gerry and Charles C. Pinckney. Returning from this mission 1798, he resumed the practice of law. However, at Washington's solicitation, he stood for Congress, and was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1799. During the canvas for this office, President Adams offered him a seat on the United States Supreme Court, which he declined. In the House of Representatives he was soon acknowledged to be the leader in the debates upon constitutional questions. In May, 1800, was appointed Secretary of War, but before entering on the duties thereof, accepted the office of Secretary of State, in which he conducted several important discussions with representatives of foreign States. On January 31, 1801, he was appointed by President John Adams Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Senate, without dissenting vote, confirmed him as such. Here he remained till his death,—a period of thirty-four years,—from first to last exercising a paramount influence upon the decisions of causes involving questions about the powers expressed and implied in the constitution.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, "The Cicero of America," was born in the city of New York in 1747; graduated with honor from Kings (now Columbia) College in 1764; studied law, and was regularly admitted

to practice in 1771; was appointed Recorder of his native city, but because he espoused the patriot cause, he was ejected from that office. In 1775, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and re-elected to the same in 1776. He was on the committee with Jefferson, John Adams and others to draft the Declaration of Independence, but did not sign that document for reasons not stated by himself or by his biographers. He was a member of the convention which framed the first constitution for the State of New York. Under the Articles of Confederation he served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs from 1781 to 1783. In the latter year he was appointed Chancellor of the State of New York — the first under the constitution of that State. He was a member of the convention of that State, in 1788, to consider the newly formed Constitution of the United States; and was one of the ablest advocates in securing its adoption. Washington was inaugurated first President, and Chancellor Livingston had the exalted honor of administering the oath of office to him in the city of New York in April, 1789. In 1801, he was appointed by President Jefferson Minister to the Court of France, and as such, with James Monroe, negotiated the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. In 1803, when the treaty confirming that purchase was signed, Mr. Livingston arose from his seat and with prophetic voice said: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to both contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America." Napoleon, too, on this occasion spoke prophetically, saying: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Chancellor Livingston died in 1813, in his sixty-sixth year. The purity and ease of his writing and oratory obtained for him, from the illustrious Benjamin Franklin, the title of "THE CICERO OF AMERICA."

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS; born at Morrisania, N. Y., January 31, 1752; died same place November 6, 1816; graduated at Kings (now Columbia) College, 1768; was admitted to the bar. From 1775 to 1778, was a delegate to the Provincial Congress of New York State, and was therein a member of the committee that drafted the first constitution for that State. Was a delegate from New York to the Continental

Congress in 1777. In July, 1781, was chosen by Robert Morris as Assistant Superintendent of the National Finances, holding that office for three years and a half. After the revolution was ended, he resumed the practice of law. He was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Constitutional Convention of 1797, and was chairman of the committee of five members to draft and form the style of the constitution, and as such performed most of that important task. In 1791, was appointed by President Washington secret agent of the United States to England. In 1792, was appointed Minister to France, and served until October, 1794, when he was recalled. In 1800, he was elected United States Senator from New York, and served till 1803. In May, 1780, he was thrown from his horse, and so injured his leg that amputation was necessary. Mr. Morris was one of the earliest promoters of the Erie canal. He was a brilliant orator, and delivered many addresses in public. His form was taken by the sculptor, Houdan, as a model for his statue of Washington.

ALBERT GALLATIN; born in Geneva, Switzerland, January 29, 1761; died at Astoria, N. Y., August 12, 1849; graduated at the University of Geneva. He was an instructor at Harvard University. In 1785, he settled in Western Pennsylvania. Was a member of the House of Representatives from 1795 to 1801. In 1802, he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Jefferson, and held that office continuously till 1814, having been re-appointed by President Madison. In 1814, he negotiated the Treaty of Peace with England—the Treaty of Ghent. In 1815, he was Minister of the United States to France; in 1826, Minister to Great Britain. In 1827, he settled in New York city, becoming president of a bank there. As Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Gallatin was especially distinguished for zeal and ability in advocating and organizing schemes for the development of the national resources. In the spring of 1807, Senator Worthington, of Ohio,—one of Gallatin's most intimate friends—secured the adoption by the United States Senate of a resolution directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report to the Senate a general scheme of internal improvement. After a year's hard work in preparation, in 1808, the Secretary made his report, which contemplated an extensive system of public roads from Maine to Georgia; for the improvement of the navigation of the rivers; for roads across the Appalachian mountain range; and for canals to connect the Hudson river with Lake Champlain and with Lake Ontario; and a canal around Niagara Falls.

FISHER AMES; born in Dedham, Mass., April 9, 1758; died July 4, 1808; graduated from Harvard College at the age of seventeen; practiced law, which he abandoned for politics. In 1788, was a member of the Convention of Massachusetts, called to ratify the proposed Federal Constitution, in which body he was noted for ability in debate and as an orator. In 1789, he was elected to the legislature of Massachusetts. During all of Washington's administration, Mr. Ames was a member of Congress, and took a leading part in the national councils. His reputation as an orator of the first class was greatly enhanced by his speech in defense of "Jay's Treaty," April, 1796. After eight years' service in the House of Representatives, he resumed the practice of law in his home town, Dedham, and while so engaged prepared and published several essays. He was chosen president of Harvard College in 1804, but declined that great honor on account of infirm health.

JAMES MONROE; born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 29, 1758; died in New York city, July 4, 1831. Was educated in William and Mary College, but quit his studies there in 1776 to join the continental army and fight for the independence of his country. Was lieutenant in the campaign in New Jersey during that year, and was wounded at the battle of Trenton. The next year was captain. In 1780, began the study of law, under the supervision of Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, whose friendship he retained during that statesman's life. In 1782, Monroe was a member of the Virginia legislature; and from 1783 to 1786 he was a member of Congress under the Confederation. Retiring from Congress, he began the active practice of law, and was again elected to the legislature. Was a delegate in the Virginia convention, for the ratification of the federal constitution, but voted against its adoption. Nevertheless he was elected by the legislature to the Senate of the United States in 1790. Though opposed to the federalist party, Washington appointed him, in 1794, Minister to France, but recalled him two years later. In 1799, he was elected Governor of Virginia, and was twice re-elected to that office. When Jefferson became President, he commissioned Monroe, in 1803, to co operate with Robert R. Livingston, then Resident Minister of the United States at Paris, in the purchase of the LOUISIANA TERRITORY. Subsequently he had a diplomatic mission to England, and later a mission to Spain. In 1806, he was associated with William Pinkney to negotiate a treaty with England, but their negotiations failed. Returning home, he was, in 1810, again elected to the legislature of his

native State, and the next year was elected Governor of that State. In this year he was appointed Secretary of State by President Madison, and in connection with the duties of that station performed for a while those of the War department. Was elected President in 1816, and re-elected in 1820, then securing all the electoral votes but one, which was cast against him in order that none but Washington should hold the honor of an unanimous election to that exalted office. During his administration, our territory was enlarged by the acquisition of the Floridas—our second annexation. In 1823, he announced to the world what has ever since been internationally known as "The Monroe Doctrine."

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#### 1824—DOMESTIC POLITICS—FINANCE—TARIFF—SLAVERY—1861

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, "The Old Man Eloquent." Born at Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767; died February 23, 1848, at Washington, D. C., having been stricken two days before on the floor of the House of Representative, of which he was a member. Was the eldest son of John Adams, second President of the United States. When eleven years old he visited Europe with his father, and did so again in 1780, when, for a time, he was a student at the University of Leyden. At the age of fifteen, he was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg. Returning home, after some time spent in Holland, Paris and London, he entered Harvard College, and graduated from that institution in 1788. Three years afterwards he was admitted to the bar. In 1794, President Washington appointed him Minister of the United States at The Hague. When his father became President, he was appointed Minister to Prussia. Recalled by President Jefferson, he resumed the practice of law at Boston. In 1802, he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, and the next year was elected to Congress. Up to this time he was affiliated with the Federalist party, but indicated his departure therefrom by voting with the Republicans for the Embargo Act—an act which resulted in his temporary retirement from public life. During three years thereafter he was professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres at Harvard College. In 1809, was appointed by President Madison on a mission to St. Petersburg. He was one of the ministers of the United States in concluding the treaty of peace with Great Britain, 1814. After two years' service as Minister at London, he returned home, and was appointed Secretary of State under President Monroe. In 1824, was elected to the presidency by the House of Representatives. Defeated



"It is not in the splendor of aristocracy, supported by powerful monopoly, that the people will find happiness, or their liberties protection; but in a plain system of government, devoid of pomp, and granting favors to none. Every good citizen makes his country's honor his own, and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred."—PRESIDENT JACKSON

"Freedom must be subordinate to whatever power may be necessary to protect society against anarchy within, or destruction from without."—JOHN C. CALHOUN.



I was born an American; I live an American; I shall die an American; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this, with absolute disregard of personal consequences. What are personal consequences? What is the individual man, with all the good or evil that may befall him, in comparison with the good or evil which may befall a great country, and in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I am careless. No man can suffer too much, and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer, or if he fall, in defense of the liberties and constitution of his country.—DANIEL WEBSTER.



for re-election by Andrew Jackson, he retired to his home in Quincy. Two years later he was elected to Congress, and held that honor by re-elections till his death, during all of which period he was the uncompromising advocate for the abolition of slavery and the champion of the right of petition. He was the most accomplished scholar in the list of our presidents, and an excellent orator.

ANDREW JACKSON, "Old Hickory." Born at Waxhaw settlement, N. C., March 15, 1767; died near Nashville, Tenn., June 8, 1845. It seems that he had no regular school training, but was self-educated. Was a soldier in the revolution, and was captured by the British in 1781. Was admitted to the bar, and began practice at Nashville, Tenn. In 1796, he was a delegate to the convention which framed the constitution of Tennessee. Was a member of Congress from that State in 1796 and 1797, and became a United States Senator from Tennessee in 1797, but resigned in the year following. From 1798 to 1804, he was Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. In 1813, as Major General of the Militia, he commanded in the campaign against the Creek Indians in Georgia and Alabama. In May, 1814, he was commissioned Major General in the regular army to serve against the British. On January 8, 1815, he defeated the British in the battle of New Orleans, though, unknown to him, the war was ended before that time. In 1818, was in command in the Seminole Indian War in Florida, and in 1821, was military governor of that Territory. From 1823 to 1825, was again United States Senator from Tennessee. In the election for President in 1824, Jackson secured the largest number of electoral votes, but the House of Representatives elected John Quincy Adams President. In 1828, Jackson was elected President and re-elected in 1832. As President he overthrew the Bank of the United States, put down the attempt of South Carolina to nullify the laws of Congress, and succeeded in his purpose to place Van Buren, his Secretary of State, in the presidential chair as his successor.

JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke. Born in Chesterfield county, Virginia, June 2, 1773; died at Philadelphia, May 24, 1833; educated in the main by private tutor and at select schools. Was a member of Congress (House of Representatives) from 1799 to 1813, from 1815 to 1817, and from 1819 to 1823. From 1825 to 1827, was a United States Senator from Virginia. From 1827 to 1829, was again a member of the House of Representatives. In 1830, was ap-

pointed by President Jackson United States Minister to Russia, but resigned soon after. In his long service in the House of Representatives and Senate, he displayed extraordinary ability as a legislator and orator, and was noted for trenchant speech and eloquence in debate. Though a democrat, he often antagonized his party. His particular foible was pride in his descent from the Indian princess, Pocahontas.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN; born in District "Ninety-six," South Carolina, March 18, 1782; died at Washington, D. C., March 31, 1850; graduated from Yale College; admitted to the bar in 1807. Soon after elected to the legislature of South Carolina. In 1811, entered the House of Representatives, when war with England was imminent; was made a member of the committee on foreign relations, and in that capacity urged a declaration of war with great force and eloquence. In 1817, President Monroe appointed him as Secretary of War, an office which he reorganized so as to leave the impress of his master mind upon it to this day. During his incumbency of this office, a controversy arose between him and General Jackson as to the latter's conduct in the Seminole Indian war,—a difference that was the cause of the breach between them when Jackson became President. In 1824, he was elected Vice-President—John Quincy Adams being elected President,—and was re-elected under President Jackson in 1828. During the next three or four years, he wrote a series of addresses in which he upheld the doctrine of nullification, which the legislature of South Carolina undertook to put in force and practice in 1832, but which was checked by President Jackson. In November, 1832, he was elected United States Senator from South Carolina, and resigned the office of Vice-President and took his seat in the Senate, as the avowed champion of the South, supporter of nullification, and defender of slavery,—Daniel Webster being his principal opponent. His speeches in the Senate during the next ten years are among the most powerful and brilliant in the history of that august body, with regard to finance, tariff, statesrights, slavery and other topics. In 1843, Calhoun's term as Senator expired. In 1848, he was appointed Secretary of State, and upon retiring therefrom, was again re-elected to the Senate, and continued there till his death. His great rivals in the national legislature were Webster and Clay.

DANIEL WEBSTER, "The Defender of the Constitution." Born in Salisbury, N.H., January 17, 1782; died at his home in Marshfield, Mass.,

October 24, 1852; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1807; studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Boston; began practice of his profession near the place of his birth, because his father so desired, but soon removed to Portsmouth, N. H., and became a leader of the bar there. In 1813, he was elected a member of Congress from New Hampshire, and served two terms. In 1818, he quit politics, and established himself at Boston, where he soon acquired national reputation and fame as a lawyer and advocate. In 1820, he established his reputation as an orator by his address on the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. His fame was enhanced by the oration delivered at the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill monument in 1825, and in 1826 by his oration on Adams and Jefferson. In 1823, Webster was returned to Congress from Massachusetts. In 1827, Massachusetts sent him to the United States Senate, where he served that State till his death, excepting the times of his service in the Cabinet of President Harrison as Secretary of State, which he retained under President Tyler. By treaty negotiated with Lord Ashburton in 1842, he settled the boundary of Maine. It was in January, 1830, that he delivered the speech, known as the "Reply to Hayne," which made him illustrious as the "Defender of the Constitution." During nearly all of the time he was in the Senate, he was the champion of Northern sentiment and ideas in regard to the nature of the Federal union as against the Southern sentiment, which was represented and championed by John C. Calhoun. His support of the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay in 1850, alienated many of his friends and admirers in the North, and cost him the loss of the nomination to the presidency by the Whig party, with which he was affiliated.

HENRY CLAY, "Father of the American System." Born near Richmond, Va., April 12, 1777; died July 29, 1851. Was the son of a Baptist clergyman, who died when Henry was five years old. For a while the boy worked on a farm, and acquired thereby the popular designation of "Millboy of the Slashes." At the age of fifteen was employed in the office of the Clerk of Chancery Court; and in 1796, when nineteen years old, began the study of law. A year later was admitted to the bar, and began to practice in Lexington, Ky. In 1803, he was elected to the Kentucky legislature. In 1806, he was for a few months a Senator of the United States. In 1807, he was again elected to the legislature, of which body, in 1808, he was chosen Speaker. In 1811, he commenced his career in

the House of Representatives, and was elected Speaker of that body, a position which he held in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth Congresses. It was perhaps through his influence that war was declared to exist between the United States and Great Britain in 1812. When that contest ended, he was one of the commissioners who, at Ghent, signed the Treaty of Peace. In 1824, he was a candidate for the presidency, and, as the election to that office fell to the House of Representatives, he gave his support and influence to John Quincy Adams, who was elected. During Adams' administration Clay was Secretary of State. In 1832, and again in 1844, he was unsuccessful in his candidacy for the presidency, though he was regarded as the most popular public man in the United States. After the election of 1844, he retired to private life; but in 1848 was again sent to the United States Senate from Kentucky. In 1850, he won the credit of putting through Congress the compromise measures by which he sought to avert a disruption of the Union, that seemed imminent, on account of the slavery question. He is regarded as the Father of the Policy of Protection to American Industries—"a man who was in public service for fifty years and never attempted to deceive his countrymen."

THOMAS HART BENTON; born at Hillsborough, N. C., March 14, 1782; died at Washington, D. C., April 10, 1858; educated at University of North Carolina, but was in the main self-educated, being a close student and omniverous reader all his life. Removed with his widowed mother to Tennessee; there studied law and began the practice of his profession. In the war of 1812, he was aide de camp to General Andrew Jackson, and was colonel of a regiment of volunteers which he recruited. The war over, in 1815 he resumed the practice of law at St. Louis, where he established a newspaper—"The Missouri Inquirer," the editorials of which involved him in several duels. Missouri becoming a State in 1820,—the first that was carved out of the Louisiana Purchase—he was elected Senator of the United States, and held a seat in that body continuously for thirty years. Was defeated for re-election in 1850 by a coalition of his own party and others. In 1852, was elected a member of the House of Representatives. During all of his thirty years in the Senate, he was one of the most influential members of that body, and was identified with all important legislation during that time.

JAMES KNOX POLK; born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, November 2, 1795; died at Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849; graduated

from the University of North Carolina; was a lawyer by profession; in politics a Democrat. Was a member of the House of Representatives from 1825 to 1839 inclusively. Was Speaker of the House during the last four years of that time. From 1839 to 1843, was Governor of Tennessee. From 1845 to 1849 was President of the United States. During his administration the Mexican war began and ended; we acquired Texas, our third annexation; and New Mexico and California, our fourth annexations of territory, were accomplished; and the troublesome dispute with England about the Oregon boundary was adjusted and settled.

LEWIS CASS; born in Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782; died in Detroit, Mich., June 17, 1866; educated at the academy in his native town. In 1800, removed with his father to Ohio, and settled near Marietta, where he studied law. In 1803, was admitted to the bar. In 1806, began his political career as a member of the Ohio legislature. In 1807, President Jefferson appointed him Marshal of Ohio, which place he held till 1813, when he enlisted to fight England, as colonel of the 3d Ohio Volunteers. At the close of the campaign of 1813, he was in command of the territory of Michigan, as Governor—a position which he held for eighteen years, being the while also ex-officio commissioner of Indian affairs. In 1831, President Jackson appointed him Secretary of War, and in 1836 he submitted to Congress his justly celebrated report on the military and naval defenses of the country. Soon after this he resigned his post as Secretary of War, and was appointed Minister to France. Resigning this post, he returned home in 1842. In 1845, he was elected United States Senator from Michigan, which place he resigned in May, 1848, on receiving the nomination by the Democratic party to the presidency. He was defeated by Zachary Taylor, and, in 1849, he was re-elected to the Senate for the remaining portion of his original unexpired term. Here he was a strong supporter of Henry Clay's Compromise measures of 1850. Was re-elected to the Senate for six years from March, 1851. Was an unsuccessful candidate for the nomination to the presidency in 1852. This ended his aspirations in that direction. In 1857, he was appointed Secretary of State by President Buchanan and served; but when the President refused to re-enforce Major Anderson at Fort Sumpter in 1860, foreseeing civil war, he resigned, and thus ended a political career of fifty-four years. His sympathies were with the Union cause during the Civil war. His whole career was associated with the development of the Northwestern

territory, out of which were carved the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana.

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, "The Little Giant," Born at Brandon, Vt., 1813; educated at Canandaigua Academy. In 1833, settled at Jacksonville, Ill., and there taught school; admitted to the bar in 1834. In 1835, was elected Attorney General of Illinois. In the same year was elected to the Legislature, and five years later was elected as Secretary of State of Illinois. Was Judge of the Supreme Court of that State 1841-1843, when he resigned, and was elected a member of Congress. In 1847 he was elected to the United State Senate, and continued therein until his death at Chicago, June 3, 1861. In 1858 he engaged with Abraham Lincoln in a series of joint debates in public, the stake being the United States Senatorship. He succeeded in this contest—the most remarkable and memorable in our political history,—but Lincoln's fame and popularity were so firmly established thereby as to cause his nomination and election to the presidency, Douglas being the nominee of one wing of the Democratic party in the election. On the outbreak of the Civil war, Douglas urged all his followers to stand by the Union and the Constitution. He was popularly known as "The Little Giant," in recognition of his small stature and great power as a debater and public speaker.

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#### 1861 — REBELLION — RECONSTRUCTION — CONCORD — 1901

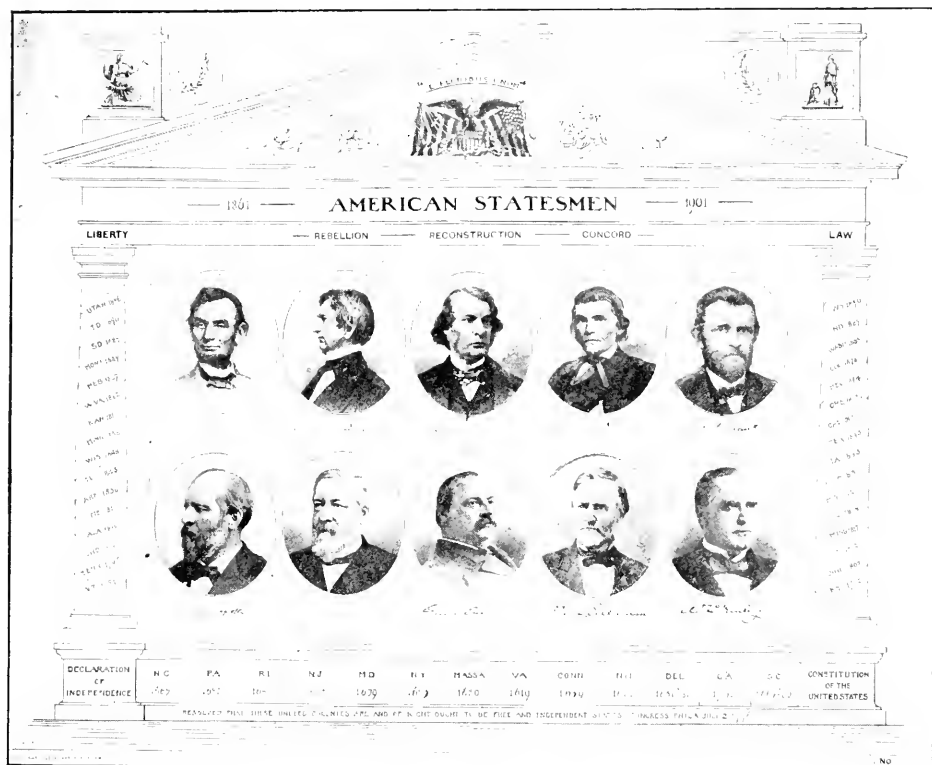
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, "The Emancipator." Born in Hardin Co., Ky., February 12, 1809. When eight years of age emigrated with his father to Indiana, and at twenty-one moved to Illinois. Received the rudiments of education at public school, but was in the main self educated. Was a volunteer captain in the Black Hawk Indian war. In 1834 was elected to the Illinois Legislature, and re-elected in 1836, 1838 and 1840. Was admitted to the bar in 1836, and established his home in Springfield. In 1846 was elected to Congress as a Whig, but joined the Republican party in 1856. In 1858, contested with Stephen A. Douglas in a series of joint debates, in public, for a nomination to a seat in the U. S. Senate. These debates attracted close attention all over the Union; and, though Douglas won the Senatorial toga, Lincoln won thereby the nomination of the Republican party to the Presidency at Chicago May 16, 1860, and was elected. In his



## PATRIOTISM.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Let reverence of the Law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, seminaries and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation.—IDEM.



( REDUCED FROM 22x24 INCHES. )

Let us, on the threshold of a new century, charged as we are with the maintenance in our day and generation, of the integrity of our government, pledge ourselves to labor, each in his own sphere, for the revival of pure and simple patriotism, and for the increase of that unselfish love of our entire country in which our safety lies.—GROVER CLEVELAND.

We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

We now, almost for the first time in our history, know no North, no South, no East, no West; but are all for a Common Country.—IDEM.



inaugural address, March 4, 1861, he declared his purpose to preserve the Union and put down secession by force of arms if necessary. On January 1, 1863, he emancipated the slaves, in certain districts then in insurrection—a measure which was then deemed a necessity of war, but which was confirmed by Constitutional Amendment after his death. Re-elected in 1864, he lived to felicitate the Nation upon Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865. In the evening of April 14, 1865, he was assassinated in Ford's theatre, Washington, D. C., by John Wilkes Booth, and died the morning following. He was the first of our martyred Presidents.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD; born in Florida, Orange county, N. Y., May 16, 1801; died at Auburn, N. Y., October 10, 1872; graduated at Union College in 1820; admitted to the bar in 1822, and at once commenced the practice of his profession at Auburn, where he resided till death. Entered politics in 1824. In 1828, was chairman of a convention held in New York city called to promote the re-election of John Quincy Adams to the presidency. In 1830, was elected to the State Senate as an "anti-mason." In 1834, was nominated for Governor of the State of New York by the Whig party, but was defeated by William L. Marcy. In 1838 he defeated Marcy for the same office by a large majority. Was re-elected in 1840. Retiring from office in 1843, he resumed the practice of law at Auburn. In 1844 he was an ardent advocate for the election of Henry Clay to the presidency, and in 1848 favored General Taylor for the same office. In February, 1849, was chosen United States Senator, and in that body soon became the leader of the administration's party. Was re-elected to the Senate in 1855. In the presidential campaign of 1856, he was active in canvassing for the election of John C. Fremont, the candidate of the Republican party for President. In 1860 he was the choice of a large number of delegates for the Republican nomination for the presidency, which was given to Abraham Lincoln—the first ballot standing 173 for Seward to 102 for Lincoln, necessary for a choice 233. Mr. Seward canvassed the Western States in Lincoln's behalf. Upon Lincoln's election, he appointed Seward Secretary of State, and on March 4, 1861, assumed the duties of that office, and continued therein till 1869. In 1865 he was thrown from his carriage, his jaw and one arm being broken. While confined to his room by these injuries, and on the night of April 14th, he was attacked by an assassin and stabbed several times. The assassin escaped, but was soon captured, tried, and hanged, with other fellow-

conspirators for the murder of President Lincoln. On recovering from these wounds, he resumed his duties of Secretary of State under President Johnson. In March, 1869, he retired to private life. In 1870-'71, with his family, he made a tour of the world, and everywhere was received and entertained with marked favor and distinction. The purchase of Alaska from Russia was made in 1867, during his secretaryship and chiefly through his efforts. As Secretary of State his duties were more arduous and difficult than were undertaken by any of his predecessors, and he performed the same with singular and signal ability and distinction. In his eventful career to every duty "HE WAS FAITHFUL!"

CHARLES SUMNER; born in Boston, Mass., January 6, 1811; died at Washington, D.C., March 11, 1874. Graduated from Harvard College, 1830. Was admitted to the Bar in 1834. During the three years following was a lecturer in Harvard Law School. Then spent three years in European travel. On return, began practice of law. In 1851 was chosen a United States Senator from Massachusetts, and held that exalted honor continuously to the time of his death. He was especially noted for his speeches against slavery, to which he was all his life an uncompromising foe. On account of one of his speeches he was assaulted in the Senate chamber by Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, and from the effects of that assault he never fully recovered. When the Republican party secured control of the Senate, in 1861, he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations—which, during the Civil war, was one of the most important; he was, however, removed from that post at the instance, it is said, of the Administration powers, and thenceforward was not in harmony with the general policy of the Republican party (which he had helped to organize) during the last few years of his life. He was an orator of great ability, and he was famed for his scholarship. He was a prominent figure in the impeachment of President Johnson, and was conspicuous in the Reconstruction of the States after the Rebellion.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS; born in Wilkes (now Taliaferro) County, Ga., February 11, 1812; died at Atlanta, Ga., March 4, 1883. Graduated from the University of Georgia. Was a lawyer by profession; was a member of the Georgia Legislature; was a member of Congress from 1843 to 1859, inclusively, as a Whig. When that party ceased to exist he joined the Democratic party. Was opposed to

secession and rebellion, and in the convention called in his native state to decide upon the question of secession, he made a remarkable speech, predicting the dire results that followed in "The war between the States," as he termed it, in his history thereof. Nevertheless, when his state decided to join the Confederacy, he cast his lot in that cause, and was made vice-president of "The Confederate States of America." He was elected as a Senator of the United States from Georgia, after the war ended, but was not permitted to take his seat. In 1877 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and held a seat therein continuously till 1882, when he resigned to become Governor of his State. Upon his election to the vice-presidency of the Confederate States, he made an address in public which is known as the "Corner-stone Speech," in the course of which he was reported to have said this: "The United States government was founded on the fundamentally wrong assumption of the equality of races"; and, in reference to the Confederacy, that "our government is founded upon exactly opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not the equal of the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition."

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT; born at Mount Pleasant, Clermont Co., Ohio, April 27, 1822; died at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, N. Y., July 23, 1885. Owing to an error on the part of the congressman who appointed him to a cadetship at West Point, his name, originally Hiram Ulysses, was entered there as Ulysses S., and he has ever since been so known. Graduated at West Point in 1840. Served with distinction in the war with Mexico. In 1854 he resigned his commission as captain in the regular army, and engaged in business. When the Civil war began he raised a company of volunteers and engaged in active service. Was rapidly promoted from rank to rank till in 1862 he was commissioned a Major General of Volunteers. On July 4, 1863, he was made Major General in the regular army; on March 2, 1864, Lieutenant General, and July 25, 1866, General of the Army. The crowning event of his great military career was the surrender of General Lee to him at Appomatox, April 9, 1865, which practically ended the war of the Rebellion. For a short time he was Secretary of War, *ad interim*, under President Johnson. In 1868, he received the nomination of the Republican party to the Presidency, and was elected to that office, his opponent being Horatio Seymour,

ex-Governor of the State of New York. Was re-elected in 1872 against Horace Greeley, receiving the largest popular vote ever given to any candidate for the office. After the expiration of his second term he made a tour of the world, and received marked and distinguished honors everywhere. In 1880 a strong effort was made to again nominate him to the Presidency in the Republican convention at Chicago, but was defeated. His enthusiastic supporters in that convention, to the number of three hundred and six, led by Roscoe Conklin, acquired the name of "Stalwarts" and "The Old Guard." The principal events of his administration were the completion of the railroads which connected the Atlantic with the Pacific; the settlement by arbitration of the Alabama claims, whereby Great Britain paid some fifteen millions of dollars to the United States, for injuries inflicted upon our commerce by cruisers which she permitted to be fitted out in her ports during the Civil war.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD; born in Orange, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Nov. 19, 1831; died at Elberon, N. J., September 19, 1881. At an early age was compelled to earn a living by hard manual labor, but by strenuous efforts and diligent pursuit of his studies he fitted himself to enter and graduate from Williams College, studied law, and was admitted to practice. In 1859 and 1860 he was a member of the Ohio Senate. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union army, and rose by several commissions to the rank of Major General. In 1862 he was elected a member of Congress and served in that body continuously till 1881. In 1880 he was elected United States Senator from Ohio, but before taking his seat in that body, was nominated to the presidency by the Republican party, and elected, his opponent being General Winfield Scott Hancock. Was inaugurated President March 4, 1881. On July 2, 1881, he was shot by an assassin in the B. & P. railroad depot in Washington, and died from the effects of that shot on the date above stated. He was the second President of the United States to die by an assassin's hand.

JAMES G. BLAINE, "The Plumed Knight. Born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in 1830. Educated at Washington College in that state. Emigrated to the State of Maine and became editor of a newspaper in Portland and in Kennebec. Was elected member of the Maine Legislature, 1859 to 1862, and was Speaker of that body. In the year last mentioned was elected to Congress, wherein he continued till 1876. In this year he was appointed United States Senator from Maine, and served as such till 1881.

From 1869 to 1875, inclusively, he was Speaker of the House of Representatives. Was one of the leaders, if not the leader, of the Republican party in that body, after the death of Thaddeus Stevens. Was a popular candidate for the Republican nomination to the Presidency in 1876. In 1881 was appointed Secretary of State by President Garfield, but resigned soon after the death of his chief, which occurred Sept. 19, 1881. Was the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1884, but was defeated at the polls by Grover Cleveland. Was the popular choice of his party in 1888 for the nomination to the Presidency, but declined. He had many supporters for that honor in 1892. He died at Washington, D. C., January 31, 1893.

GROVER CLEVELAND; born in Caldwell, Essex Co., N. J., March 18, 1837. Received common school education, supplemented by diligent study and reading, the while he was contending with the sterner tasks of life. Was admitted to the Bar in 1859, and practised his profession in Buffalo, N. Y. Was District Attorney of Erie county, N. Y., 1863 to 1866. Defeated for re-election to that office, he practiced law till he was elected Sheriff of that county. In 1881 he was elected Mayor of Buffalo as a Democrat. In 1882 was elected Governor by a plurality, over Judge Folger (Republican), of more than 190,000. Nominated to the presidency by the Democratic party in 1884, he was elected, defeating James G. Blaine. Renominated in 1888, he was defeated by Benjamin Harrison; but, in 1892, he was again the nominee of the Democratic party, and was elected over Harrison as chief magistrate of the nation. Upon the expiration of his term of office March 4, 1897, he established his residence at Princeton, N. J., where he now resides (1903).

JOHN SHERMAN; born in Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823; received academic education; was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty; was a delegate to the National Whig convention of 1848 and 1852. Helped to organize the Republican party in 1856. Was chairman of the first convention of that party held in his native State. Was member of Congress March 4, 1855, to March, 1861, and was the choice of his party associates for Speaker in 1859-60. Succeeded Salmon P. Chase in the United States Senate in 1861, and was re-elected in 1866 and 1872. Was Secretary of the Treasury, under President Hayes, 1877 to 1881. Under his management of the Treasury, the National debt was refunded, and the resumption of specie payments

took place in 1879. On March 4th, of this year, was again a Senator of the United States, and was re-elected in 1886 and 1892. Was a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination in several national conventions of his party. On March 4, 1897, he was made Secretary of State by President McKinley, but on account of advanced age he resigned soon after the war with Spain began, in May, 1898, and retired to private life. He died at Washington, D. C., October 22, 1900.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY; born at Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843. When eighteen years of age, and while attending an academy, he enlisted as a private in the 23d regiment of infantry, Ohio Volunteers, for service in the Civil war. Rose to the rank of Major by meritorious service and conspicuous bravery. After the war, studied law at the Albany law school (N. Y.); practiced his profession in his native State. Was District Attorney 1869-71 of Stark county, Ohio. From 1871 to 1891, he was a member of Congress, excepting a brief interval. Was chairman of the Ways and Means committee of the House of Representatives during his last two years in that body, and as such reported the tariff bill which was known by his name. In 1890, was elected Governor of Ohio, and was re-elected in 1892. Was chairman of the Republican national convention in 1892 that re-nominated Benjamin Harrison to the presidency; and in 1896 himself received that honor, and was elected by the largest popular majority ever given to any candidate, excepting General Grant, in 1872. During his first term, the war with Spain was begun, and ended speedily with signal victories to our arms, whereby this nation gave freedom to Cuba and acquired extensive territorial possessions in the West Indies and in the Philippines. Mr. McKinley was re-elected by an enormous majority of the popular vote in 1890. While a visitor at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., September 6, 1901, he was shot by an avowed anarchist, and died from the effects thereof at the home of Hon. John G. Milburn, Buffalo, September 14, 1901. His remains were interred at Canton, Ohio. He was the third of our Presidents to die a martyr's death.

“ His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up,  
And say to all the world ‘ This was a man ! ’ ”

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“ We are not a nation of hero worshipers. We are a nation of generous freemen. We bow in affectionate reverence and with most grateful hearts to those immortal names \* \* \* \* and will guard with sleepless vigilance their mighty work, and cherish their memories evermore — WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



“THEY WERE THE LUSTER LIGHTS OF THEIR DAY,  
THE       \* \* \*       \* \* \*       GIANTS  
WHO CLAVE THE DARKNESS ASUNDER  
AND BEACONED US WHERE WE ARE!”

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## THE FLAG OF THE REPUBLIC.

“Long may it wave o’er the land of the free and the home of the brave!”

There is the national flag! He must be cold, indeed, who can look upon its folds rippling in the breeze without pride of country. If he be in a foreign land, the flag is companionship and country itself, with all its endearments. Who, as he sees it, can think of a state merely? Whose eye once fastened upon its radiant trophies can fail to recognize the image of the whole nation? It has been called a “floating piece of poetry”; and yet I know not if it has any intrinsic beauty beyond other ensigns. Its highest beauty is in what it symbolizes. It is because it represents all, that all gaze at it with delight and reverence. It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air; but it speaks sublimely and every part has a voice. Its stripes, of alternate red and white proclaim the original union of thirteen states to maintain the Declaration of Independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that union of states, constituting our national constellation, which receives a new star with every new state. The two together signify UNION, past and present. The very colors have a language, which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity, red for valor, blue for justice; and all together—bunting, stripes, stars, and colors blazing in the sky—make the flag of our country to be cherished by all our hearts, to be upheld by all our hands.—CHARLES SUMNER.







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